



Daily Report

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International Conference on 'Agroconversion' Ends
PM2104103393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Apr 93 Single Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Gavriluk report under the "Conversion" rubric: "Government Would Govern, But Referendum Hinders"]

[Text] The international conference "Agroconversion-93" has concluded its work in Moscow. Recently such meetings have been held quite frequently. No wonder—more than 300 design establishments and machine building plants are involved in creating equipment for the food and processing sectors, which means jobs for millions of people.

No matter how surprising the absence of government spokesmen from the conference might be, we are beginning to get used to this; to all appearances, the problems of the agro-industrial complex are not of utmost importance to the Council of Ministers. But the participation of Ramazan Abdulatipov in the work of the conference was unexpected.

"I am here as someone who is familiar with all forms of agricultural production, and my mother still works the land using old-fashioned methods," he said to explain his appearance there. "Moreover, as chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, I wanted to draw attention to the regional factor in the implementation of agrarian transformations. After all, the proposed programs embrace the whole of Russia, and nobody thinks of adapting them to specific regions. The government, which is occupied with the referendum, must be helped. But the main point is to stabilize the political situation more quickly so as to tackle specific problems."

This idea was confirmed by Eldon Griffiths, director of an international business center in the United States, who declared: "Money is not noted for great bravery, and while things are restless in Russia it can hardly count on investments from abroad."

What is happening now? In practically every region high-class military enterprises are producing primitive garden and truck-garden tools, and conversion programs in the regions frequently duplicate each other.

Economic approaches to agrarian conversion have not been properly adjusted either. Leonid Kormonovskiy, vice president of the Russian Agricultural Academy, spoke of this. Under conditions of a disparity of prices agriculture is unable to buy even the minimum material and technical means which it needs to maintain production. The resources market of the agro-industrial complex has already shrunk to the point at which not only a production slump but also the degradation of production begins.

Nevertheless, there is also reassuring news. The government is completing its examination of the comprehensive program "Agrarian Reform and Development of the

Agro-Industrial Complex 1993-95," prepared under the leadership of Aleksandr Rutskey.

World Economic Forum Holds Session in Alma-Ata

LD1904093293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0925 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 19 TASS—A visiting session of the World Economic Forum began in the capital of Kazakhstan late on Sunday night. A plenary meeting was declared open by Forum President Claus Schwab. The session is being attended by authoritative representatives of business communities from almost 30 countries.

Speaking at the session, President Nursultan Nazarbayev voiced hope that "the Alma-Ata session will help the participating states to open up new horizons for mutually beneficial cooperation. The republic which has gained independence is particularly interested in broader partnership in the provision of foreign investments and the establishment of highly effective jointly-run production plants. "The purpose of this forum is precisely to demonstrate the republic's resources in this respect". [quotation marks as received]

Nazarbayev expressed a wish for the World Economic Forum sessions in Alma-Ata to become annual, just as is the case in Istanbul and Davos. He was gratified to state the readiness of big foreign creditors for cooperation with the republic. An aggregate amount of credit offers to the republic from foreign states is now 5,500 million U.S. dollars.

"The destiny of political and economic reforms in the Commonwealth of Independent States, reforms that are unprecedented by the depth of social impact are of worldwide importance," the president of Kazakhstan pointed out.

"Therefore it appears logical to mobilise the intellectual and production potential of the entire world community in support of reforms. The mobilisation of world resources will help us overcome difficulties quicker and without losses and will be ultimately of immense benefit to the whole of mankind", Nazarbayev said.

The economic and financial situation in Kazakhstan, the state of affairs in its foreign economic relations and business development problems have been under discussion at the forum session since Monday morning.

More on Nazarbayev Remarks

LD2004185493 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] On Sunday evening, 18 April, as had been anticipated, an itinerant session of the World Economic Forum began work at the "Alatau"

sanatorium, for which authoritative representatives of business circles from 30 countries had arrived. [passage omitted]

Describing the political and economic situation in the republic and the state of its external links with foreign states and with the world community in general, Nazarbayev touched on the program for urgent anticrisis measures and deepening socio-economic reforms, which was adopted at the beginning of the year. Along with a tight monetary policy this program makes provision for specific measures for stabilizing the economy, modernizing and further developing the fuel and energy and metallurgical complexes, expanding production, filling the domestic market with consumer goods and food, and improving the communications and transport systems.

All this requires the mobilization of capital resources to technically and technologically reequip the export sectors so as to make full use of the advantages of the international division of labor for a balanced development of the economy as a whole. Singling out precisely these sectors as structural priorities can be explained by the economic prospects for using the huge natural resource potential of Kazakhstan which, incidentally, has not yet been fully explored.

This is why the anti-crisis program, the president went on, aims at invigorating state policy in the field of attracting foreign investments, underpinned by the appropriate legislative foundation. Moreover, special attention is being paid to stimulating the effective use of attracted investments in the nonstate sector of the economy.

We understand perfectly well, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed, that the main conditions for a natural influx of

foreign capital lie in creating the necessary prerequisites for developing our own private sector, in providing guarantees of the inviolability of private property, and real freedom of enterprises. It is for this reason that we see as the central link in the republic's economic reforms systemic changes in the structure of ownership, and wide-scale share flotation and privatization of state enterprises, enshrined in a special national program. It makes provision for invigorating state activity in three main areas: small-scale, mass-scale, and individual privatization. The document contains quite liberal terms for foreign investors in all types of privatization measures, which can give impetus to developing domestic production.

The simultaneous reform of the banking system is ensuring order in the field of money circulation and currency relations. The present currency restrictions will undoubtedly be gradually abolished as the economy stabilizes, as has happened and still happens in all civilized countries. [passage omitted]

Nursultan Nazarbayev wished the participants in the forum success in their work, expressing confidence that the Alma-Ata meeting was marked by new achievements in the field of mutually advantageous cooperation and mutual understanding. He replied to numerous questions from foreign businessmen.

Present at the first plenary session of the forum were Vice President Erik Asanbayev, First Deputy Prime Minister Daulet Sembayev, Deputy Prime Ministers Asygat Zhabagin and Zhanybek Karibzhanov, head of the presidential and Cabinet of Ministers apparatus Nurtay Abykayev, and a number of ministers. [passage omitted]

CIS Heads of Government To Meet in Minsk 28 Apr

LD2004145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1424 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Larisa Klyuchnikova for TASS]

[Text] Minsk April 20 TASS—A spokesman in the CIS working group's press service said letters signed by group coordinator Ivan Korotcheny were sent to the Commonwealth heads of state and government. They say that under the accord reached, the next meeting of the Council of Heads of Government will take place in the Belarusian capital on April 28.

The CIS prime ministers are expected to elaborate at it a programme to shore up the CIS and prepare pertinent documents. The drafts of these documents will be presented to a meeting of the CIS heads of state planned to take place in mid-May.

Next CIS Summit Set for Second Half of May

NC1904140393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1158 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Yerevan, April 19 (SNARK)—The [CIS] summit will take place in the second half of May. Aram Safaryan, press secretary of the Armenian Foreign Department, who will be the head of the press-service during the work of summit, has informed SNARK's reporter of the fact that about 400 foreign and CIS journalists will work during the work of the summit. The Azerbaijani representatives are expected to participate in the work. Azerbaijan has status of the observer. Just before the summit the defense and foreign ministers of the CIS will meet in Yerevan. There will be expected the culture program. [sentence as received]

Minsk Summit Seen as 'Most Lackluster'

PM2104140593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksey Yeroshenko report: "Meeting Without Results"]

[Text] Minsk—The shortest and most lackluster meeting of CIS heads of states, held in the capital of Belarus, confirmed the local folk wisdom that if you don't know where to sail, you won't find a favorable wind. People have been shouting about saving the republic's economy. The ruble zone is on its last legs. The decision on founding the Interstate Bank made three months ago has still not been taken up. All this presupposed an out-of-turn or perhaps even an extraordinary assembly of CIS leaders. And it did take place. Its unexpectedness alone should have made the meeting of heads of states an event assuming in terms of its decisions something akin to the coming of the Messiah. However, those expectations were not borne out.

To be fair, it has to be said that there is a positive element in this. First, the chairman, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, candidly noted the Commonwealth's ills: the wars, the debasement of human dignity, the destruction of people's homes, the disintegration of the economy, and growing unemployment.

Second, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk finally agreed to recognize the need to create supranational structures, which would envisage a currency union "where there would be some kind of currency capable of determining the life of the states within the CIS and improving settlements and all economic ties."

Stanislav Shushkevich, head of Belarus, inadvertently summed up the present meeting of heads of states when he said that "complete unity has been declared." Everyone is in favor of a banking union and a uniform method of settlements. But is not possible to formalize this action immediately because, according to certain participants in the meeting, there are more pressing issues for discussion.

Thus, the fleeting meeting of heads of states came to an end. The official delegations flew back home with empty briefcases.

Shevardnadze To Meet Elchibey, Ter-Petrosyan in Ankara

LD2004144793 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1241 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] A Georgian state delegation led by Mr. E. Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, leaves for the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal today, 20 April. The delegation includes A. Abashidze, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Adzharia, Georgian Foreign Minister A. Chikvaidze, and other officials.

Abulfaz Elchibey, president of Azerbaijan, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, president of Armenia, will also be present at the Turkish president's funeral.

Before leaving for Ankara Eduard Shevardnadze talked on the telephone to Abulfaz Elchibey and Levon Ter-Petrosyan. They agreed on a meeting between the head of the Georgian state and the presidents of the two neighboring states in the Turkish capital. E. Shevardnadze is planning to meet with leading political figures from various countries and heads of state in Ankara. A meeting between Shevardnadze and the Turkish leadership is also planned.

The Russian delegation, which includes Nabiula Magomedov, first deputy head of the government of the Republic of Dagestan, is led by Georgiy Khizha, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. A meeting between the delegations is planned at which regional problems will be examined.

'Conflicts' on Road to Baltic Unity Viewed

MK2004113693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 3

[Tamara Nikolayeva report under "Baltics" rubric: "Meeting of Heads of Baltic Countries' Governments. Relations Being Built on Bilateral Basis"]

[Text] A meeting of Baltic countries' heads of governments has taken place in Vilnius. It was expected that a general document regulating the creation of a single economic area on the three Baltic states' territory would be signed or at least agreed on, especially as Western countries, specifically Scandinavia, have repeatedly advised that there be no delay over this economic integration, which would help to reform the Baltic countries' economies more intensively on a new basis, to attract foreign investors, and to facilitate quicker entry into European and world markets.

Expectations, however, were not justified. The meeting of the three premiers—Adolfas Slezievicius, Ivars Godmanis, and Mart Laar—did not culminate in the signing of a general document, although an attempt was made to seek general approaches in economic policy.

A statement regarding the Common Market's embargo on the export of agricultural products from the Baltic countries was adopted. An understanding was reached about the creation of working groups to introduce a unified customs policy and visa system (Lithuania's neighbors do not like its comparatively open borders) within the region's framework. The premiers also discussed united positions in relation to Russia, on the question of the withdrawal of its troops from the Baltic states.

The meeting showed that the road toward Baltic unity is not very near. The Baltic states are still finding it preferable, or rather easier for the time being, to build relations on a bilateral rather than trilateral basis. In particular, during the meeting there were talks between the heads of the Lithuanian and Latvian Governments and a treaty on trade cooperation between the two countries for 1993 was signed. True, speaking after the signing ceremony, Lithuanian Premier Slezievicius expressed the hope that a similar document would be signed with Estonia in the near future.

The existence of conflicts on the road toward Baltic unity is also evidenced by Estonian Premier Laar's recent comments that "Lithuania's economic policy does not make the signing of a common Baltic treaty a good prospect." So far Lithuania has not introduced its own national currency—Latvia and especially Estonia have overtaken it on this road. This is one of the most important aspects hindering the Baltic states' integration. Furthermore, Latvia and Estonia would like Lithuania to protect its allies' interests more resolutely regarding the question of the Russian troop withdrawal from all the Baltic states' territory.

Communications Conference Held in St. Petersburg

LD2004100593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1120 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Frolov]

[Excerpts] St. Petersburg, 19 Apr—New forms of cooperation in communications between the CIS states, which have acquired an international rather than an intercity status, must not result in a lower quality of service to the population of the former Soviet republics or in any shrinking of information space between people. This is the main objective of the eighth meeting of the council of heads and plenipotentiary representatives of communications administrations of the regional communications community, which opened today in St. Petersburg.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent learned from Aleksandr Aleshin, first deputy minister of communications of the Russian Federation, that the agenda of the meeting includes many important topics. One of the most pressing ones is the creation of a mechanism to transfer and receive money by mail. It has been agreed that every state should open correspondent accounts in its banks to simplify payments in national currencies. [passage omitted]

The next meeting of the council of heads of communications administrations of the regional communications community is scheduled to take place in Chisinau at the beginning of September.

Leaders of Capital Oblasts Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD1604154693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0838 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shevel]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Apr—The leaders of representative and executive power of six capital oblasts of CIS states signed an agreement today on cooperation at the "Klyazma" residence outside Moscow today. The document was signed by representatives of Alma-Ata, Akhal-skiy, Kiev, Minsk, Moscow, and Chuyskiy Oblasts.

Interaction between the participating sides of the treaty, based on a status of greater favor and mutual benefit, will be implemented according to the following basic directions: the economy, business and commercial ties, scientific-technical cooperation in the social and cultural sphere, and the work of local bodies of power and administration.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent a letter of greetings to the participants in the meeting in which he spoke highly of the significance of the treaty, which had been concluded on an initiative from a lower level, and expressed confidence that the relationship of partners within the Commonwealth would develop and strengthen.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Apr

*LD2104052993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0439
GMT 21 Apr 93*

[“Press Review”—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with former Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar who shares his views on the forthcoming all-Russia referendum which is to be held next Sunday. When asked whether he has any doubt about Boris Yeltsin's triumph, Gaydar said: “I think the president will win and the crisis of power will end with an early parliamentary election at which lists of presidential candidates, in my view, stand serious chances”.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star), in an article headlined “Everything is Ready for the Referendum” points out that “the main issue as to how to count votes—either out of the number of people who would go to the polls or that of people having the right to vote—is still in the stage of resolution”.

The newspaper recalls that on Tuesday the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation began to examine whether the latest Congress resolution determining a procedure for the referendum and the counting of votes corresponds to the Constitution. The Court is to announce its judgement on Wednesday afternoon.

PRAVDA carries an interview with President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan which is part of the Russian Federation, about the forthcoming referendum. Any outcome of the referendum “would not lead to a durable social stability. Therefore, early elections of both a president and representative bodies of Russia become inevitable now,” Shaymiyev said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (independent newspaper) runs an article by General Pyotor Deinekin, commander-in-chief of the Air Force of the Russian Federation, about the problem of relationships between the Armed Forces of Russia and Ukraine.

“As far as our internal ‘armament-related issues’ are concerned, nuclear arms and a continuation of their division are the main of them. Strategic aircraft that carry high-precision nuclear cruise missiles constitute a component of strategic nuclear forces. These are unique TU-160 and TU-95ms attack aircraft, which now stay, in the main, on the territory of Ukraine,” General Deinekin points out.

“Russia as the successor to the Soviet Union is, of course, unable to meet commitments to reduce and continue to cut down the former Soviet Union's strategic nuclear weapons if the nuclear-capable aircraft and nuclear weapons remain on the territories of other republics.

“Unfortunately, no mutual understanding with the leadership of the Defence Ministry of Ukraine has been found so far, although the aircraft cannot be operated as part of the republic's Air Force, because technical stores and all documentation for their maintenance are in Russia,” the article says.

Newspapers devote much attention to the state of affairs in the Chechen Republic (North Caucasus), the president of which, general Dzokhar Dudayev, has dissolved parliament. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, referring to information reaching it from the republic, communication with which is now difficult, reports that the Chechen parliament agreed to an early election while Dudayev gave consent to including a question about confidence in the president in ballot-papers.

In their international news sections, newspapers give prominence to reports recounting the death of the Branch Davidian cult members and developments in Yugoslavia.

“Thus, yet another round of the dangerous Balkan game is drawing to an end. All the cards are already involved in the game. Even if the worst happens and Resolution 820 takes effect next Monday, Russia, judging by everything, would not wash its hands of it but would continue to pursue a consistent policy towards resolving the conflict by political means,” points out a dispatch by Belgrade correspondents of the Russian news agency Novosti, published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Churkin Says Serbs Face Disaster if No Compromise

PM2104081193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Maksim Yusin report: "Moscow Urges Serbs To Make Concessions"]

[Text] Following the adoption of new sanctions against Yugoslavia by the UN Security Council despite Moscow's stubborn opposition, Russian diplomacy has embarked upon a desperate and possibly final attempt to persuade Bosnian Serbs and the Belgrade leadership backing them of the need to make concessions, thereby avoiding the international military intervention which is becoming increasingly likely with each passing day.

Speaking at a press conference in Moscow, Vitaliy Churkin, President Yeltsin's special envoy at the talks on former Yugoslavia, declared: "A national catastrophe threatens the Serbs unless they agree to a compromise. Today it is not the territorial structure of Bosnia which is at stake, but the future of the Serb people."

He did not seek to conceal Moscow's cool attitude toward the Security Council resolution to tighten sanctions. In Churkin's view, this was an untimely decision which can only embitter the Serbs and render dialogue more difficult.

Nevertheless, in Churkin's words, there are no grounds to talk about fundamental differences of opinion between Russia and the West on the Yugoslav question. "There is no point in your harboring illusions," he said in response to a question from a Belgrade journalist. "Russia has its own foreign policy priorities. We will never embark upon confrontation with the world community over the map of Bosnia..." The Serbs' obstinacy at the talks on the territorial structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina is irritating Moscow.

Although Churkin also admitted that the borders of the 10 Bosnian provinces proposed by Cyrus Vance and David Owen are far from perfect, in his view only a minimum of amendments can be contemplated. If the Serbs reject the principle of "all or nothing," formulate realistic proposals, and expound them to Lord Owen in Belgrade on Wednesday, Moscow is prepared to support them. Insofar as the map sketched by Vance and Owen cuts off the Serb provinces of Bosnia from Serbia, Churkin proposed to unite them "via a UN corridor," in which Russian peacekeeping forces could be stationed.

On Monday, Andrey Kozyrev called for a UN Security Council session at foreign minister level on Bosnian territory—in Sarajevo or in Srebrenica, which is under siege by the Serbs. None of Kozyrev's colleagues has responded to this idea yet. The Russian minister again declared his negative attitude toward foreign military intervention in the conflict. As before, Moscow resolutely opposes lifting the embargo on supplying arms to the Bosnian Muslims.

Parliamentary Delegation Meets Yugoslav Leaders

LD2004203593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1835 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 April—The Russian Supreme Soviet delegation which is in Belgrade today met the supreme political and military leadership of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

Briefing the Russian parliamentarians on the current military-political situation around the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Pavle Bulatovic, the country's defense minister, pointed to the growing threat to Yugoslav security as a result of political pressure and military threats on the part of a number of western countries. If we are subjected to attack, we will be forced to defend our freedom with full force and by all means, the minister stressed.

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, leader of the Russian Supreme Soviet delegation and chairman of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, stated that the members of the delegation reacted unfavorably toward a tightening of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia. He said that the threats against it of the use of NATO forces operating under the UN "umbrella" represent an unprecedented adventure in the history of this international organization.

At the delegation's meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, problems of a settlement to the Bosnian crisis and also questions of the development of Russo-Serbian cooperation were discussed. The head of the Russian parliamentary delegation stressed during the conversation that sanctions cannot bring a settlement any nearer and that the only way to reach it is by political talks in which, he said, Russian diplomacy should play a more active role.

At a news conference in Belgrade, the members of the Russian delegation expressed the opinion that preserving the cease-fire, the declaration by the Security Council of a moratorium on the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that come into force on 26 April, and an intensive search for a compromise solution acceptable to all the Bosnian sides are steps which should be taken now in the matter of a settlement to the Bosnian conflict.

In the event of a resolution on international military intervention being imposed on the Bosnian Serbs, Russia should use its right of veto. Ye. Ambartsumov stressed.

In the evening a meeting took place between the Russian parliamentarians and Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic. During this meeting the members of the Russian delegation voiced their solidarity with the people of Yugoslavia, who have found themselves in a most difficult historical situation.

The head of the Yugoslav state, who is a major Serbian writer, described the Security Council's resolution on stepping up sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a classic ultimatum to the Serbian people. "Only a madman," he stressed, "can hesitate when choosing between peace and war. Only a fanatic can desire war. But it is a question of a different choice which is being imposed upon the Serbian people: to exist or not, to live free or under a yoke, to preserve their individuality, or to give it up."

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, leader of the delegation, said that all its members, regardless of their party affiliation, believe that the resolution on sanctions against Yugoslavia is a mistake and that the Russian representative at the United Nations should have used the right of veto. He also stressed that foreign military interference is inappropriate in solving the Bosnian crisis and that Russia would try to do everything possible to avert such a decision. Tomorrow the Russian parliamentary delegation, touring the former Yugoslav republics, will go to Pristina, the center of Kosovo, and Metohija autonomous region in south Serbia.

Rumyantsev Criticizes UN Abstention on Yugoslavia

LD2004195493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1844 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Russian people's deputy and member of a Russian parliamentary delegation, which has recently visited Yugoslavia, Oleg Rumyantsev made a statement to "disagree with the ambiguous stand" of the Russian representative to the United Nations Security Council, who abstained in voting on tougher sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Describing the U.N. Security Council resolution of April 18 "as unilateral and non-just", Rumyantsev called on the Russian Parliament and government "to take necessary foreign political decisions to postpone and later cancel the hasty decision, ensure humanitarian deliveries to Yugoslavia and stabilize the situation in the Balkans". In his opinion, the Russian representative to the United Nations abstained from the use of veto right, thus, violating the Supreme Soviet resolution.

Bosnian Peace Process Needs 'One More Chance'

LD2004135493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] Whether the toughening of sanctions against Belgrade will help restore peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a question mark. This view is from Yuriy Solton.

[Solton] Last Friday, 16 April, Bosnia-Herzegovina stood a better chance of achieving a political accommodation than it does now. President Yeltsin's special envoy for the Yugoslav affairs, Vitaliy Churkin, said this on Monday. Although the United Nations Security Council toughened the anti-Belgrade sanctions last Saturday, escalating hostilities between Bosnia's Croat and Muslim forces and the new possibility of Belgrade's withdrawal from the negotiating process seem to bear out the validity of Churkin's statement.

Russia is outraged by the bloodshed in the former Yugoslav republic. In principle, Moscow supports the introduction of sanctions. It has no intention of acting as a mouthpiece for Belgrade. It assumes the Serbs bear a share of the responsibility for the escalation of violence. And Russian Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, says there's no chance of Moscow closing its eyes to outbursts of militant nationalism.

But would it be fair to hold the Serbs and only the Serbs responsible for the continuing bloodshed? A biased flexing of muscles can hurt more than heal. Some Western democracies have come out to doubt the need for a resolution which is designed to destroy Serbian living standards and isolate the Union Republic of Yugoslavia. Some political figures however have developed a war-orientated mentality. Some countries have insisted that the Security Council consider the lifting of the embargo on arms deliveries to the Bosnian Muslim community.

Even if the Muslims need arms for defense rather than attack, the lifting of the embargo would only add fuel to the fire. Negotiations are under way on the possibility of air attacks on Serb positions and communication lines. Peace negotiations have come under threat. Bosnia-Herzegovina may split and the Balkan region may come to face the threat of large scale war with unpredictable consequences.

In Moscow's view the peace process must be given one more chance, if only for the sake of the cease-fire. President Yeltsin himself attaches special importance to this. His emissary, Vitaliy Churkin, has been shuttling between Moscow and Belgrade. A special emissary of the United States, Reginald Bartholomew, has also been dispatched to Belgrade. And although the developments are alarming, 26 April—the day when the new sanctions are to be enforced—cannot be regarded as any sort of doomsday. The negotiating process can be stepped up.

Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev suggests that the foreign ministers of the nations sitting on the UN Security Council meet in special session in Europe, possibly in Sarajevo or Srebrenica. The use of force as the exclusive method of settling the Bosnian conflict may yield a negative result.

Finance Minister Cited on Outcome of G-7 Meeting

PM2104093193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Agafonov report incorporating remarks by Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, date not given: "Boris Fedorov: G-7 Has Taken Almost All Russia's Wishes Into Account"]

[Text] Tokyo—The meeting of G-7 ministers with the participation of Russian representatives has ended with the adoption of a consolidated program of credit and financial proposals, including both old and new elements to a total value of \$43.4 billion. The meeting had been specially convened in Tokyo to discuss a package of economic initiatives addressed to Russia. The figure sounds impressive, but so far it is largely a statement of intent—a great deal of work still has to be done before the published G-7 program is implemented, so we should not be expecting an instant influx of Western money.

The Tokyo meeting documents divide the program into four parts—initial stabilization, full stabilization, structural changes and imports, and debt deferral. Only the last section needs no explanation—it is pretty clear, and the \$15 billion in deferred payments are undoubtedly a major boost to our ailing economy. All the others have to be looked at in detail, and we turned to Vice Premier and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, who headed the Russian delegation, for his comments.

First and foremost, Fedorov said, we should be talking not about figures but about the quality of the proposals and how well-prepared they were. Of course, it is very important that we make contact with the G-7 at a new level of understanding and cooperation, and that this should open up the prospect of serious joint work rather than being a one-shot affair. But this makes our task now—of putting the good intentions into practice and making intelligent use of the proposed initiatives—all the more difficult. We have put our views on this score to the G-7, and I can note that our position was not considered peripheral—virtually all of its elements were taken into consideration in one form or another.

Now to the program itself. It is worth highlighting the G-7 initiative of opening a new IMF credit line for countries whose economies are in a transitional period. Admittedly, it will need an IMF Board decision for this line to start working, but the coordinated G-7 approach has essentially already guaranteed a positive outcome. For Russia this opens up the possibility of obtaining \$3 billion in easily formulated credits that are not encumbered with difficult conditions. Another new element is the World Bank initiative proposing to grant so-called rehabilitation credits on an expedited basis. The time factor is important in both cases—the money could arrive quickly.

The G-7 has increased the amount of credit on offer to us from the World Bank (almost \$4 billion). This money is

technically harder to get hold of—it will be used for specific projects, which have to be prepared, agreed, and checked out by experts. But the advantage is that these credits are issued for 17 years. This is very attractive in our current situation. Essentially, this is a guaranteed source of investment which should be actively developed. Another G-7 initiative—the \$10 billion in export credits—is also substantial, but here we need to carefully weigh up each step so as not to "consume" this money (as has already happened many times in the past, when huge amounts were frittered away on unthinking import purchases). The already famous ruble stabilization fund (\$6 billion) is best left to one side for the time being—we will need to prepare for it and develop a mechanism which does not yet exist. Without positive results in reform we will not be able to touch this money. The IMF reserve credits (\$4.1 billion) are also a matter for the future, since the Fund makes them contingent on a series of difficult terms, and the credits are hard to draw up.

We should particularly note the success in implementing our idea of setting up a special small-business development fund (the so-called "100,000 credits"). This is a kind of record—we managed to get our partners' agreement in the space of just four months. The G-7 will be issuing \$300 million for this purpose.

During the Tokyo discussion the idea was mooted of setting up a G-7 office in Russia in order to prevent any time being wasted when it comes to agreements, coordination, or other procedural points. The question of setting up working groups in different areas was examined too. We were able to persuade our partners that we need to think about amending technical and consultative aid—in its current form it is not particularly effective, and we have proposed switching the emphasis to exchanges of people, cadre training, and other practical programs.

In short, the vice premier said in conclusion, it is still too early to sum up the results. A major step forward has been taken, but the main question is one of timing—when will everything that we agreed in Tokyo start being implemented?

U.S. Agriculture Department Announces Food Aid

LD2004093693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0736 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Myatash]

[Text] Washington April 20 TASS—The U.S. Ministry of Agriculture has announced it will give 150,000 tonnes of wheat to the former Soviet republic of Georgia gratis. A total of 94,000 tonnes of the allocated amount worth 14 million dollars will be provided to the Georgian population gratis in the framework of "The Food in the Name of Progress" programme, aimed at giving support to agrarian reforms and satisfying the demand for bakery products, while the remaining 55,000 tonnes will be used

as cattle fodder and will be distributed by the Georgian government to meet the interests of Georgian cattle breeders.

The U.S. agrarian department will finance the transportation of a large wheat cargo worth 5 million dollars to Georgia by sea. A statement made by the U.S. Minister for Agriculture Mike Espy and circulated here on Monday, says that these agreements will help Georgia to satisfy the demand of the population for bread and cattle fodder. The United States continues to demonstrate its adherence to the cause of giving support to Georgia and other former Soviet republics in a period of transition to market economies, the statement said.

The ministry has also announced that it will provide food aid to Russia gratis - 1,000 tonnes of butter worth approximately 2 million dollars to be distributed among the low-income population of Russia. U.S. private charity organisations will distribute U.S. butter among hospitals, children's homes and houses for the elderly people in St. Petersburg.

Moscow TV Discusses Past, Future U.S. Aid

LD1804202593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1350 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Report by anchorman Vladimir Suhkoy from the "Panorama" program]

[Text] Now now some details about the American aid to Russia. Although the presidents agreed in Vancouver that it would be better to talk about economic cooperation rather than aid, let us recap on what was already delivered to us last year and at the beginning of this year.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has delivered to our country more than 100,000 tonnes of food worth \$148 million. Medical aid worth \$39.1 million has been delivered as part of Operation Hope. Skeptics can of course reasonably argue that all these sums are rather small. That is true, but this is real money and real projects and, I would also like to add, real people. Only those who are completely prejudiced are incapable of noticing the volunteers from the American organization CA USA participating in various humanitarian and technical aid projects in many Russian towns. These people can be seen everywhere. Those who believe, out of their own ignorance or incited by others, that these American volunteers are agents from the CIA or other special services can go to Sergiyev Posad near Moscow, to warehouses near Kostroma, Ivanovo, and Vladimir and see for themselves how pure are these people's motives.

So what did Yeltsin and Clinton agree on in Vancouver? The main result of the summit is Bill Clinton's economic package, i.e. the project aimed at facilitating market reforms in Russia, with a total value of \$1.6 billion. How will the money be distributed? Humanitarian aid will take up \$690 million, another \$700 million will be allocated for credits and loans for the purchase of agricultural produce, and \$230 million will be allocated

to other forms of credits. All loans and credits are given on preferential terms. They are to be repaid within 15 years with the first repayment deferred for 6-7 years.

The Clinton package has two specific points. It has already been sanctioned by Congress and is coming into force without any delays. Second, this package has precise time and industry targets. According to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, three-quarters of the money within this project will be sent to Russian provinces rather than to Moscow.

Is there anything in this package that might arouse doubts? To tell the truth, I don't really want to go into vain discussions about the smallness of sums. First of all there is no bad aid, and second no amount of money can save the Russians today. However, the situation with the purchase of grain is becoming absurd. Up to half of the \$700 million allocated by the U.S. Administration for that purpose may cover only transport costs. This is simply because only American vessels can be used to transport grain.

The last point: Americans keep on saying that Clinton's Vancouver plan must be seen not as a spontaneous gesture of solidarity with the Russian president, but as an integral part of a broad program of economic aid to Russia. According to Strobe Talbott, Clinton's adviser on Russian affairs, transformations in Russia will span several decades. We are not investing in a specific individual, but in the whole of that process. Well, time will show.

U.S. Aid Group To Help Develop Entrepreneurs

LD2004174993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1413 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Gordeyev]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—In a tangible show of support for the development of a Russian entrepreneurial class the American humanitarian aid organization "Citizens for Democracy" announced that they would initiate their own new program in Russia.

"We wish to distinguish ourselves from the multitude of various other humanitarian aid organizations in Russia, we wish to show that we are people of action" said Ms. Victoria Nikulina of "Citizens for Democracy". "We do not want ours to be a one-time aid action - our aim is to assist individual Russian entrepreneurs in starting their own production and getting access to Western markets. Upon starting our work in Russia, we have come to understand that not only small and medium-sized private businesses, but also many state-owned enterprises need help in carrying out practical reform.

"Citizens for Democracy" stated that their actions in Russia were to develop along several lines. They will help local authorities in reforming municipal structures and assist government and commercial organizations in developing their management, technical and financial

skills. They are recruiting people for this program from amongst working or recently retired officials of American corporations. In addition, specialists from "Citizens for Democracy" will offer mediating services to foreign investors and Russian businesses.

Their first experience of work with the Russian state structures has ended successfully. Specialists from "Norfolk Southern" sent by "Citizens for Democracy" to work with the Russian Railway Ministry helped develop a strategy for foreign commercial and financial assistance to commercial departments of the Railway Ministry.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Arrives in Arkhangelsk

LD2004121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0929 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk April 20—Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst arrived in Arkhangelsk in the Russian North on Tuesday. Together with his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev, Holst plans to speak at an international conference "Barents Region: Cooperation in Education and Research", which opens Wednesday.

Holst will spend today in negotiations with the administration of Arkhangelsk region and will visit the city of Severodvinsk, a formerly closed suburb of Arkhangelsk, where the Russian center of atomic shipbuilding is located.

The Norwegian foreign minister will also examine the Russo-Norwegian enterprise "Rossnor", which is under construction. The enterprise, using local raw materials and Norwegian know-how will produce pre-fabricated wooden houses and wood products.

Hopes Referendum Will Aid Yeltsin Reform

LD2104063393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0536 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk April 21 TASS—Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst, who is currently here, gave a news conference for Russian and Norwegian journalists late on Tuesday night.

The minister visited Severodvinsk, where the largest Russian shipyards for the construction of nuclear-powered submarines are located. "Today we found a good example which shows that cold war is over," he said. "Previously I could not even imagine that I would ever be able to visit the secret shipyards of Severodvinsk. Moreover, we saw that conversion is being practised there in earnest. The production of trawlers is being launched, and submarines are not only built but are scrapped as well".

In response to a question as to whether the Norwegian foreign minister has its own view of Russia's forthcoming referendum, Mr Holst said: "I hope that referendum results would provide support for President Yeltsin's reform programme aimed at developing democracy in Russia. Such a result would give a good impulse to the strengthening of our relations".

Bulgarian Premier Ends Visit to Moscow

LD2004163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers Luben Berov today completed his official visit to Moscow. He had talks with his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin and met Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. Several documents were signed on the results of the Russo-Bulgarian intergovernmental negotiations, including a protocol on the exchange of ratification instruments to the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bulgaria, an agreement on cooperation in the field of education, science and culture, and a protocol on cooperation between the law enforcement bodies of the two countries. Berov's visit to Russia was a logical continuation of the visits exchanged by the presidents of the two countries—Zhelyu Zhelev to Moscow in October 1991 and Boris Yeltsin to Sofia in August 1992. A Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bulgaria was signed during Yeltsin's visit. It laid the foundation for qualitatively new relations between the two countries, devoid of ideological background.

Summing up the results of his Monday talks, Berov noted the desire of both sides "to find suitable and fair ways to resolve all the problems". In turn, Chernomyrdin stressed that the "current fraternal, friendly relations between our two countries" guarantee further development of relations between Russia and Bulgaria.

German Defense Minister Meets St. Petersburg's Mayor

LD1604200693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1522 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Zavinovskiy]

[Text] St. Petersburg April 16 TASS—A closed door meeting of German Defence Minister Volker Ruehe and St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak was held here today. The German minister told correspondents upon the meeting completion the sides, including politicians and the military, have reached mutual understanding.

Ruehe said Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and he have had cordial relations from the very start and

the main result of their meeting is the signing of an agreement on Russian-German military cooperation.

Asked on areas of cooperation between the two states' armies, the German official noted the need to boost meetings of Russian and German servicemen at all levels, including the level of military schools and academies.

In the afternoon the German military delegation laid a wreath to the Motherland monument at the Piskaryovskoye cemetery.

Next morning the minister and accompanying officials will leave St. Petersburg for Bonn.

Deputy Defense Minister Discusses Pullout From FRG

PM2004101993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 7

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Colonel General V. Toporov by Aleksandr Furs; place and date not given: "DM550 Million on Extra Housing for Servicemen"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry commission studying the problem of the withdrawal of Russian forces from Germany has ended its work in the Western Group of Forces. Our correspondent Aleksandr Furs talked with Colonel General Vladimir Toporov, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, who headed the commission.

[Furs] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, you have visited the formations and units that are being withdrawn and you have acquainted yourself with the organization of the withdrawal and the associated problems. What is your opinion?

[Toporov] I must say that the group's personnel are doing a great deal of work to prepare the forces for withdrawal, which is not going unnoticed by the German side and it rates the work highly. At the same time, certain problems are arising over the removal of materiel, equipment, and movable property that are needed in Russia.

Some 120,000 items of equipment and armaments and 2.5 million tonnes of material supplies have been swiftly removed so far. One ferry and 100 freight cars loaded with equipment and property leave Germany for Russia daily. Everything possible is being done in the forces to cut the planned withdrawal period by four months.

There is the confidence that the units and formations are not merely leaving FRG territory, but are preparing in earnest to carry out tasks suited to their role on the territory of Russia in the future. One priority task, to which great significance is attached, is preparation for settling in at the new location as quickly as possible.

In turn, the Defense Ministry adopted a number of decisions on improving the situation and providing assistance for the forces that are being withdrawn. We signed a protocol on the use of the further allocation of 550 million German marks [DM]. That is in addition to the program which envisages allocating DM7.8 billion for the construction of housing for forces being withdrawn from Germany. Some of the money will be used to acquire industrial equipment which will guarantee the implementation of the program for the construction of housing developments.

[Furs] The internal districts have many problems of their own, associated with the provision of apartments and accommodation of forces. Then there are the forces that are being withdrawn from Germany...

[Toporov] There are plenty of problems in this sphere, as you rightly say. We are leasing (this we are coordinating with the local authorities in the regions to which the forces are being withdrawn) recreation centers, the premises of former pioneer camps, boarding houses, and hostels... These problems are not new, they are familiar to all Soviet servicemen, in fact, many of them have been living in private apartments, renting a place from the owners.

Officers are not going to end up on the street: The government is allocating the funds to tackle these problems.

[Furs] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, since the deadline for the withdrawal of forces has been brought forward, time is no longer on our side. What problems do you envisage in the matter of selling the movable property of the Western Group of Forces and will fundamental adjustments be required?

[Toporov] One thing must be done, I believe: All adventurous proposals from certain local businessmen, from natives of the former USSR, and, indeed, from representatives of Russia must be rejected. These proposals look attractive; they look like an opportunity to sell property on very advantageous terms. We must remember in any case that we are obliged to fulfill our commitments under the 1990 treaty. That is number one. The second thing we must take on board is the fact that not all the property is for sale, since Russia is short of it. Sometimes the apparent cheapness, due to the absence of haulage costs for transportation to Russia, prompts the notion that it is more advantageous to sell it on the spot. But when we start to work out how much it would cost to obtain it in Russia at the new prices, we come to the conclusion that the property must be taken out. Prices are rising in our country and in some industrial sectors production links between enterprises and, indeed, between republics have been destroyed, which greatly hinders the production of equipment and property the forces need and prolongs the production process...

By and large, officials in the Western Group of Forces are familiar with these problems and calculations and estimates have been made. We know this for a fact, but

there are details which require the elaboration of further new documents with the participation of the Russian Government and Defense Ministry.

[Furs] Some media in Germany, and, indeed, here in Russia, are still using as a sensational trump card the thesis that the Western Group of Forces leadership and commissioned and warrant officers are just selling off military property and weapons all the time. Are there grounds for publishing material like this?

[Toporov] It would be wrong to say categorically that there have been no mistakes. But really the issue has been overplayed, deliberately exaggerated in view of the fight that is going on for Western Group of Forces property, with German firms among the culprits. People here know perfectly well that we will definitely leave at the agreed time. And unless we sort out and sell this property, it will basically be left here and offloaded cheap.

Various bodies and commissions, including our commission, have examined each instance, and no one has any fears that involvement in commercial deals is rife among leading personnel and officers.

[Furs] On the territory of the FRG, where the Western Group of Forces is stationed, there are things of spiritual as well as material value. What is the Russian Defense Ministry's stance with regard to the debate over the symbols of our Fatherland's military glory, the memorial complexes in Treptow Park and the Tiergarten? The general opinion in the German press is that these monuments belong to occupying forces and should be dismantled after their departure...

[Toporov] It must be said that this is not the position of the majority of the German population. The country's leadership appreciates that the monuments must remain and be properly maintained. They commemorate not only the Soviet soldiers who perished, but all those who perished in the Great Patriotic War and World War II.

Any other view is simply unacceptable in the conditions of the new relations and reconciliation between our peoples and the development of a partnership between Russia and Germany.

Grachev Notes Need for Stability in Persian Gulf

LD2004160693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0959 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Yelistratov]

[Text] Cairo April 20 TASS—"Russia is interested in stability in the zone of the Persian Gulf taking into account that the region is situated in close proximity to the Russian Federation's borders," Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said in an interview with the Kuwaiti AL-WATAN newspaper.

Grachev noted that "the crisis situation remaining in the Gulf area over recent years persistently demands setting up a balanced regional system of security in the area."

In Grachev's opinion, such a comprehensive system will be more efficient and meet the interests of security only if not based on a principle of confrontation and if each state proceeds exclusively from the aims of the necessary defence. "A system of security in the zone of the Persian Gulf should be open to any country situated there," Grachev said.

Touching upon a treaty on joint defence between Russia and Kuwait, Grachev said that the treaty would be signed in summer. According to the Russian defence minister, a Russian delegation is preparing for a visit to Kuwait scheduled for the end of April. During the visit to the emirate the sides are to finally coordinate all details of this treaty," [quotation marks as received] Grachev added.

Iranian Move on Nuclear Cooperation Analyzed

MK1604142693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 10

[Anastasiya Romashkevich report: "Tehran Resorts to 'Nuclear Tender'"]

[Text] It seems that the disagreements with the United States over the arms trade with Iran (it is sufficient to recall the business of Russia's sale of three diesel-engined submarines to Tehran in the fall of 1992) could soon intensify once again. Wednesday evening the Iranian Majles ratified the 1989 agreements with the USSR (whose legal heir is Russia) and with China on cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. According to this document, Russia will give Iran assistance in constructing a nuclear electric power station. Ratification followed right after the end of the visit to Tehran by Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry (see KOMMERSANT 1 April).

The West attributes its concern to suspicions that Tehran has a military nuclear program. In the opinion of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service, if such a program does exist, the creation of nuclear weapons cannot come about, optimally, before 2003. It is being slowed up both by the consequences of the war with Iraq, the low level of industrial development, and the "considerable dependence on foreign aid." Tehran is now clearly emphasizing the resolution of the latter problem, stepping up both purchases of dual-purpose technologies and industrial espionage abroad.

According to available information, an accord reached earlier on Russian assistance in constructing a nuclear electric power station with a capacity of 880 megawatts (two units of 440 megawatts each) was confirmed during Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Iran. The value of the contract, which is designed to take 84 months, is \$2.7 billion, and Iran will pay in cash. In reply to charges of assisting

Tehran's nuclear program Moscow points to the fundamental impossibility of using these reactors to create nuclear weapons (according to Ministry of Atomic Energy data, reactors of the same type were sold to Finland recently and are functioning in Russia at the "Voronezh-2" and "Kolskaya-4" stations). This is also confirmed by independent experts, who believe that considerable additional work would be needed to use this equipment for military purposes. Iran, a party to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons since 1970, is ready, in turn, to admit the International Atomic Energy Agency to its nuclear installations. The agency now controls all dual-purpose technologies imported into the country.

It is possible to make a two-fold assessment of Tehran's desire for cooperation in the nuclear sphere with Russia and China. Iran's arguments about its desire to solve its energy problems are convincing. But the program of cooperation with Russia and the PRC is not confined just to sales of reactors, also implying the "transfer of experience." The latter circumstance, as well as the possibility of direct contacts between the Iranians and Russian specialists, who are experiencing considerable material difficulties under conditions of faltering conversion, could lead to a "nuclear brain drain." At the same time, by attracting to cooperation in the nuclear sphere not one but two countries that are equally concerned at the hold which high technologies are getting on Asian markets, Tehran could play on the competition between Moscow and Beijing. It also cannot be entirely ruled out that it will try to extract from this cooperation information which goes beyond peaceful power generation. This underlines still more strongly the importance of coordinating the efforts of nuclear countries within the regime of controlling the use of nuclear technologies.

Parliament Seen as Warming Toward Iraq

MK1604112693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 4

[Report by Aleksandr Shumilin from Cairo: "A Hand Extended Once Again to Saddam Husayn. This Is Confirmed by General Achalov's Visit to Iraq"]

[Text] Newspapers in many Arab countries have again raised the question these days of whether Moscow is going to continue to show solidarity with the international community vis-a-vis Baghdad or opt for backing Saddam Husayn's regime under pressure from Russian nationalistic patriots.

Until recently, everything has been fairly clear: The president, the Foreign Ministry, and parliamentary leaders have been firmly sticking to the condemnation of the Saddam regime. Support for the Saddam regime has been the opposition's province.

This was confirmed by Ruslan Khasbulatov at a meeting with journalists at the Cairo airport upon the completion of his Middle East tour last January when he said: "The

Russian Foreign Ministry's stance with regard to Iraq is so firm because this is parliament's stance!"

Nearly three months have passed, and yet another delegation of our legislators is setting out for Baghdad, headed by General Achalov, whom our press dubs none other than Ruslan Imranovich's "chief of staff." The general, who became famous after successfully emerging from the investigation regarding the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, made a number of statements in Baghdad that were naturally taken by Arab observers as the parliament's own. "What we have seen here is not war, but the liquidation of a whole people," the Egyptian AL-AHRAM quoted Achalov as saying.

From its inception the Iraq-Kuwait problem has been exploited by the opposition for internal political purposes, initially by the nationalists; now, it seems, by the so-called "moderates" in parliament. They all, however, have a common aim—to undermine the Kremlin authorities to an even greater extent.

Let me recall a number of facts from recent history to prove this. In his "retirement" speech at the Congress of People's Deputies in December 1990, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, despite the attacks by hard-line Communists, remained firm in his support for Kuwait and in his condemnation of Iraq. Shevardnadze's successor, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, took the baton and carried it with dignity throughout the Gulf war. But afterward he himself, alas, could not hold out because he did not put up the requisite resistance to those same Communists during the August 1991 coup.

If judged by their words, our Communists and nationalists are concerned about the Iraqi people who are suffering, as they claim, from the consequences of "imperialist aggression." But in order to express this solidarity with the people they are making trips to meet with Saddam. Members of the broad opposition among the Iraqis themselves living both in their own country and abroad have a different view of this problem: All the actual troubles of the Iraqi people today are a direct consequence of criminal policies pursued by the Saddam regime.

Achalov's visit to Baghdad has shown that now it is no longer the nationalist opposition that offers its support to the Saddam regime, but the actual majority in our parliament on whom the speaker and his deputies have long been gambling. Obviously, they do not do it in person, but instruct their reliable aides to do so, apparently, to avoid excessively striking discrepancies between their own statements and pronouncements they had made in a number of Arab capitals during a Middle East tour. At that time the master of Baghdad was called "an aggressor."

AL-AHRAM views Achalov's statements not only as the position of the Russian parliament, but also as a signal of sorts to other Arab countries "to smooth over their negative approach to Iraq." The newspaper concludes:

"Such a development of events may make it harder for the West even to consider deposing Saddam Husayn." It is high time for the Russian Foreign Ministry to speak out on the subject.

Foreign Economic Relations Group Visits South America

LD1604215093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1837 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Chistov]

[Text] Brasilia April 16 TASS—A visit of a delegation from the Russian Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, headed by its minister Sergey Glazyev, to Uruguay and Paraguay was very useful, head of the ministry's Department for Strategic Planning and Analysis of Foreign Economic Activities' Development Aleksandr Ageyev told ITAR-TASS here today.

The delegation, currently on South American tour, arrived today in Brazil on a four-day visit.

In Uruguay the delegation met ministers of the economy and finances, the foreign and defence ministers and representatives of the local business community. The negotiations revealed Uruguay's great interest in development of trade relations with Russia, including Russian exports of transport means, power engineering equipment, technologies and agricultural machinery.

In their turn, Uruguay wants maximum expansion of its exports of tanning and wool items.

The main obstacle in the way for Russian-Uruguay trade development is the Russian foreign debt of 43 billion U.S. dollars, which formed back in 1990-1991. The negotiations found possible ways to service the debt at the expense of Russian deliveries of goods to Uruguay.

The Paraguay visit was also a success, stressed the ministry representative. For the first time in the two countries' history, they signed a bilateral agreement on trade and economic cooperation to ensure bilateral most favored nation regime in trade and create legal conditions for the development of commercial relations.

The priority cooperation areas include transfer of technologies, specialist exchange, setting up of joint ventures and production cooperation. The sides found a possibility to expand Russian exports with the increased delivery of machinery and equipment, said the Russian official.

In the opinion of Ageyev, Paraguay may become a main Russian trade partner in Latin America due to the presence of a large influential Russian diaspora in the country.

'Substantial Progress' Made on Tour

LD2004180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Chistov]

[Text] Brasilia April 20 TASS—A delegation of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, led by Minister Sergey Glazyev, completed its 4-day visit to Brazil on Monday.

The Russian representatives had talks at several ministries on a wide range of problems linked with bilateral trade and economic cooperation. The Brazilian Government has described these contacts as very productive. The delegation met the heads of several commercial and industrial companies and banks in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. It also had meetings with local businessmen.

On the last day of the visit, the delegation had talks with representatives from the Sao Paulo State Administration and visited one of the country's largest banks—Banespa. It also called on the "Lada do Brazil" company, which sells and services Russian Vaz cars in Brazil.

Glazyev told a press conference in Rio de Janeiro that trade turnover between Brazil and Russia could be increased to one billion U.S. dollars within the next three years. Today, it totals approximately 290 million U.S. dollars and Russian exports to Brazil account for 180 millions. President of the Brazilian Exporters Association Marcus Venicius Pratini said that the two countries expected to increase their trade turnover to 350 million U.S. dollars already this year.

The visit to Brazil was the last lap of the delegation's tour of South America, which included visits to Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. Assessing the trip, Minister Glazyev noted its productivity. "We were able to make substantial progress in the solution of many concrete problems," he said. Glazyev particularly noted the visit to Paraguay, where an agreement on commercial and economic cooperation was signed for the first time in the history of relations between the two nations. It stipulates the granting of the most favoured nation treatment to both countries.

'Growing Concern' Expressed Over South African Events

LD2004113793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Russia asked its citizens to refrain from trips to South Africa because of mass disorders there triggered by the assassination of Chris Hani, a leader of the African National Congress and general secretary of South African Communist Party.

A Russian delegation has been attacked in Johannesburg of late, and one of its members received a bullet-wound, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said at a briefing on Tuesday.

Disorders in South Africa "increase the polarisation of society, threaten to disrupt the process of reforms and to bring the country on the brink of a civil war", the spokesman said, adding that criminals are taking advantage of the political tensions.

Russia experiences a "growing concern over the developments" and hopes that moderate and constructive forces will dominate in South Africa and will be able to control the situation, prevent extremist actions and disrupt provocations, according to the spokesman.

"It is important today to resume the peaceful political process aimed at final dismantling of apartheid by means of negotiations", Yastrzhembskiy said.

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Deals With Ex-CEMA Members

LD1704015793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1710 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 16 Apr—President Boris Yeltsin today signed a decree on payment arrangements between the Russian Federation and the former European member countries of CEMA, the press service of the Russian Federation reports. The purpose of the decree is to support and develop Russia's traditional economic ties with these countries.

The Ministry of External Economic Ties, jointly with the Finance Ministry and Central Bank of the Russian Federation, are instructed to hold negotiations with the interested countries on the possibility of using national currencies in mutual economic transactions. The decree proposes the principle that, when exporting products by mutual agreement, the participants in such transactions should effect payment in national currencies through empowered banks, at quoted exchange rates. State bodies would not be responsible for settling the resultant liabilities of the sides.

Russian participants in external economic transactions are freed from the obligation to sell on the domestic currency market a part of the foreign currency proceeds of external economic transactions conducted in the national currencies of former European member-countries of CEMA.

UN Delegate on CIS Membership in Nonproliferation Pact

LD2104090393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0829 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Meneks]

[Text] United Nations April 21 TASS—Russia expects Ukraine and Kazakhstan to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as non-nuclear states, Igor Scherbak, Russian representative, said during general discussions at the UN Disarmament Commission session held here on Tuesday.

Scherbak highly appraised the Supreme Soviet of Belarus's decision regarding its joining the treaty as a non-nuclear state. Russia itself has been observing the treaty in the sphere of nuclear disarmament and is ready to assist the interested parties in fulfilling their commitments under these agreements.

Noting that disarmament ceases to be a "thing in itself" and is becoming ever increasingly integrated into the wider context of international security, the Russian delegate elaborated on the real progress achieved during the preceding years in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

Reminding about the signing of the treaty involving further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons, the Russian delegate emphasised that at the recent summit held in Vancouver the presidents of Russia and the United States had agreed that efforts by their two countries will be directed to a speedy implementation of START-I and the ratification of START-II.

Government Urges UN Action To Help Victims of Conflicts

LD1904191993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1814 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations April 19 TASS—Russia came out at the United Nations for stepping up the world body's activity to protect victims of conflicts. Specific proposals on this score were set out in Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's letter to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. This letter was issued here today as an official document of the General Assembly and Security Council.

Kozyrev called, in part, starting the mechanism for combatting mercenarism envisaged in the convention which was developed and adopted under the U.N. auspices in 1989. The U.N. could give an impetus to international cooperation to restrict the allowed warfare parameters, including by extending the list of civilian facilities, an attack on which should in any case be viewed as a war crime. The key issue of the humanitarian law is responsibility for crimes against the civilian population, injured and prisoners of war.

Russia supports efforts to institute a special international tribunal in conjunction with crimes on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The letter expresses support for efforts to create a full-time international criminal court.

The priority of the defence of human rights and basic freedoms and respect of man's honour and dignity should be consistently pursued everywhere and always even where the crash of shells and shooting are heard, the letter emphasises. Humanism and mercy should prevail where the ideas of the necessity of war and the desire to cause maximum damage to the enemy dominate today.

Shokhin Calls For Mutual Benefit in Relations With CIS

LD1904200193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Russia's union with the CIS countries should be built on mutually beneficial economic and political relations, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin believes.

Addressing a press conference here today, Shokhin said Russian taxpayers cannot subsidise an economic upturn in other CIS states for the sake of simply allied relations.

According to Shokhin, any union implies the sale of Russian raw material within its frameworks at internal prices and actually hidden subsidies extended by Russia to partners in the union. Russia cannot agree with this as it itself faces serious problems. Therefore, to create the union, it is necessary that a balance of interests be reached by way of political and economic concessions, Shokhin said.

He named as an example of such a balance the proposal by Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich that Russian export duties be cancelled in response to Belarus's entry into a military-political alliance with Russia. In this case Russia will not be forced to pull out urgently its troops from this republic, invest funds in the re-deployment of troops and in economic terms some balance will be reached, Shokhin believes.

Shokhin voiced disagreement with points in Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's recent speech in parliament. He described this speech as "a specific genre" that combines facts and figures which "are on the verge of fabrication".

Commenting on Rutskoy's arguments that 60 per cent of humanitarian aid was stolen by commercial structures, Shokhin noted that they contain many mistakes and inaccuracies. According to Shokhin, starting 1992 Russia's donors have insisted on the monetarised scheme for humanitarian aid distribution, under which commodities reaching the country would be sold at auction prices and the revenue transferred to the accounts of the Fund for the Social Support of the Population.

Naturally, some abuses did take place because the distribution mechanism was de-centralised. Shokhin

admitted. But there were few of them and to speak that not a single rouble was transferred from the sale of aid means to twist facts.

Concerning other points in Rutskoy's speech, Shokhin recognised that there were abuses in the Western Group of Troops but he said he disagreed with figures associated with the outflow of hard currency from Russia. "In this section Aleksandr Vladimirovich committed many inaccuracies," he said.

Uncertain Legal Status of Peacekeeping Forces Viewed

PM1904101793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[Ivan Skrylnik report from Ministry of Defense Press Center: "Peacekeepers—Currently Outside the Law"]

[Text] For over a year more than 18,000 servicemen from the Russian Armed Forces have been carrying out peacekeeping tasks in numerous "hot spots," both in former republics of the USSR and further afield.

During this time it has been in many respects thanks to them that the situation in South Ossetia, the Dniester region, North Ossetia and Ingushetia, and Tajikistan has stabilized. But while helping others to reestablish law and order, our peacekeepers have found themselves essentially beyond the jurisdiction of Russian legislation. Their activity, apart from the participation of our airborne battalion in UN peacekeeping activities in the former Yugoslavia, has not been stipulated in Supreme Soviet decrees, as the Law on Defense requires.

Russia has signed international bilateral and multilateral treaties on peacekeeping operations, but so far the mechanism for enlisting and training military contingents to carry out peacekeeping functions has not been officially registered. Colonel Aleksandr Arinakhin, chief of the Russian Ministry of Defense Sector [napravleniye] for the Leadership of Peacekeeping Forces, said, and the legal status, rights, and duties of servicemen, as well as their social guarantees, have not been determined. But the men are performing service in the most difficult conditions, and their lives are frequently at risk. As of April this year, 33 servicemen have already been killed and 65 wounded in the Russian peacekeeping units and subunits.

According to Arinakhin, this situation is adversely affecting the morale of the personnel. People are dissatisfied with the meagerness of life and health insurance, which is incommensurate with today's prices, and the lack of benefits in the provision of housing and in convalescence. The advisability of their presence in the "hot spots" is the subject of perplexity among them.

An order of the defense minister requires that peacekeeping forces be manned solely on a voluntary basis, on contract. But their lack of status is sharply raising the question of recruiting servicemen in these forces at all.

As shown by a public opinion poll recently carried out among Russian "blue helmets" in the Dniester region and South Ossetia, practically 95 percent of servicemen feel no desire to extend their contracts if their current legal and social situation is unchanged.

On the instructions of the country's leadership, the Ministry of Defense has prepared proposals which, it is planned, will be submitted for examination by parliament. These envisage that a special military contingent—the Russian Peacekeeping Forces—will be detached from the Armed Forces on a permanent basis, and not count as part of their numerical strength. It is planned that a statute on the Peacekeeping Forces will define the principles of their manning and use, the rights and duties of the servicemen, and the system of social-legal provision.

Air Force Chief Briefs Military Attaches

PM2104091993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17
Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Commander in Chief Announces Russian Air Force Strength for First Time"]

[Text] "As a result of the division of the USSR Armed Forces, Russia has been left with more than 5,000 aircraft, including 37 percent of the MiG-29's, 23 percent of the Su-27's, and 43 percent of the Il-76's, as well as more than 14,000 pilots. But the overwhelming majority of Tu-95MS's and Tu-160's are stationed outside Russia," Colonel General of Aviation Petr Deynekin, commander in chief of Russian Federation Air Forces, stated during a meeting with foreign embassies' military attaches held at the Zhukovskiy Air Force Engineering Academy 16 April.

Notes Effects of Reforms

LD1604161593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1333
GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—Russian Air Force Commander-in-Chief Colonel-General Petr Deynekin told Air Force attaches from foreign embassies in Moscow about the formation of the Russian Air Force.

The first ever meeting was held at the Zhukovskiy Air Force Academy on the initiative of the Air Force Attaches' Association.

Deynekin told the meeting the Russian Air Force reform aims to reduce aircraft and personnel at the expense of advanced materiel and increased efficiency and battle training.

The Air Force will have only fourth generation aircraft, which correspond to the world standards and in some parameters surpass them. Outdated aircraft will be stored and later destroyed.

In Deynekin's words, there are now two pilots for each pilot's seat. Thus, they have to use more actively trainers and efficient plane types.

He said the Russian Air Force will run into 250,000 men by 1995, which is half of the former Soviet Air Force strength.

Speaking of strategic bombers stationed in Ukraine, he said there are 19 TU-160 aircraft and 23 TU-95MC aircraft there. After unsuccessful, due to the Ukrainian stand, attempts to set up the strategic bombers' joint command, some components were removed from the bombers and the cruise missiles to prevent their direct use.

The colonel-general refuted mass media reports, claiming arms sales by military structures. He said this is done, and rather inefficiently, by state structures.

The Air Force attaches thanked the commander-in-chief for the meeting.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Article on His Vision for Russia

PM2004193193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Apr 93 pp 1-2

["Exclusive" article by Boris Yeltsin: "Russia Is Strong in Intellect, Resources, and Culture. This Potential Will Enable It To Achieve a Breakthrough in the Future"]

[Text] Four days remain until the referendum and although I insisted on its being held, all the same, the referendum is not the end goal. It is only a means of peacefully breaking through to Russia's future, the only lawful means which the difficult political situation has left to us.

Our country has had a difficult history. But, looking back, we see not only traditions of tyranny and repression, but also a tradition of people's power. Let us recall the republics in Pskov and Novgorod, Cossack self-government, and the rich experience of the Zemstvo structures in the late 19th and early 20th century.

At that time Russia confidently modernized itself and moved toward the market and democracy, and its culture impressively asserted panhuman values while at the same time, naturally, preserving national specifics. The country felt itself to be in the ranks of the world's most advanced industrial states.

And today, when we are trying to establish the market and private property and on this basis build a flourishing democratic state, it is all the more strange to hear accusations of betraying national traditions. Russia is restoring the severed link between eras. It is returning to openness to the outside world and readiness to learn and imitate. And this is also our tradition. After all, the development of our country took place through constant interaction with different cultures. Moreover, periods of active interaction with the outside world were simultaneously periods of rapid economic and spiritual growth.

Look back at history, let us recall that always in Russia the best representatives of the Russian intelligentsia went to the people not as silent mourners of their fate, but in order to raise them up from slavery and poverty. The first paths to freedom were laid not by politicians, but by scholars and figures from the world of culture. Today not only Russia, but all the world knows their names. A.D. Sakharov will forever remain a symbol of freedom in our country. Many of those who chose the path of struggle paid for this with their lives; they were shut up in prisons and psychiatric wards or sent into forced exile, but they did not renounce their convictions or sell their souls to the devil of lies and hypocrisy.

This is striking proof of the fact that we did not begin the redevelopment of Russia from nothing. We have huge natural resources and skilled, hard-working people. Another major resource is the genius of the people, their spirituality and advanced learning. It is important not to

lose all this, but to make it a source of growth. A Russian citizen is worthy of freedom, and he will have all the possibilities to fulfill himself, to apply his labor, knowledge, and talent effectively.

However, in order to ensure the stability of life and of the laws and safeguard people's rights and protect them from crime and tyranny, a strong power and a strong democratic state are needed. This is why I advocate an effective [deyesposobnyy] government and the regeneration of Russian statehood. Every country forms a political system by approximating it to the maximum degree to the cultural and historical traditions of its own people. I believe that this will be the case with Russia too. We will find our own, Russian path to democracy.

At the same time I am convinced that a strong, effective president, without fail elected by the people, is absolutely essential to Russia.

In the new Russia the president will collaborate with a prestigious and professional parliament that fulfills legislative and monitoring functions and does not interfere in the executive's sphere of competence.

Both the state and Russia's citizens need a strong, independent, and effective judiciary. Our task is to ensure the right of every Russian citizen to have recourse at any moment to justice and to receive a just verdict, without having to hope for a "kind boss" or to head for the capital "to seek the truth." It is worthwhile thinking about reviving the figure of the justice of the peace in order to examine everyday mundane problems.

All three branches of power in Russia—the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary—will be a reliable guarantee of the protection of the rights and interests of the citizen and of society.

I advocate Russia's consistent transformation into a truly federal state. Without this its unity and integrity cannot be ensured. A state is rich not through its capital, but its provinces, its lands [zemli]. Only through the optimum emancipation of the initiative of the republics, krais, and oblasts will Russia rise up anew. The center will reserve for itself only the functions which the regions cannot take on themselves.

At the same time attempts to bring about the political disintegration of Russia or a unilateral alteration of its internal borders will be pursued ruthlessly and without compromise within the law. Russia's geographic, cultural, and national diversity is not only an object of our pride, but also one of the conditions for progress. Therefore, in multiethnic Russia the rights of peoples, wherever they live, to free development cannot be infringed.

All these ideas and principles are concentrated in the new Russian Constitution. I proposed that a vote on confidence in the president be linked with the draft Constitution, but the Congress rejected this proposal. And that is a pity; after all, it is in the Constitution that

our future is concentrated. It is today that it is being determined what that future is to be.

There is no let-up in debates about where we are going and what we are building. True, everything still comes back to the dilemma—capitalism or socialism? But in point of fact, what is socialism? Who has built it and where? No one and nowhere! But what about capitalism? Surely it has not finished its development? And surely it is not the same everywhere—in the United States, in Germany, in France, and Japan? However, there is no point in arguing what sort of society is better.

The best society is that in which man is happy, where he can fulfill himself within that grievously short period of time which is called life.

The country has already begun the difficult transition to its normal state. Today we have a far better understanding of the scale, depth, and difficulties of this transition. This is a task of years and decades.

Do I know how to accomplish it? Yes and no. The ideology of this transition is only just being shaped. I know that we must move forward along the road of reform, but the business of transition has turned out to be absolutely new and in many ways unpredictable. In these conditions we have to change not only tactics, but also modify individual aspects of the strategy.

This is not a renunciation of commitments, still less a betrayal, but an inevitable condition of progress. We are being held back by backward technology, an outmoded industrial base, a neglected agriculture, and a bureaucratic, inefficient administrative structure. But let us be frank. Until we really begin to work, we will be poor. After all, it is only through labor that a man or a society is rich. We have many healthy, strong, and capable people waiting around for the state to provide manna from heaven, but the state produces nothing. Moreover, state administration, although necessary, is needed only in the state sector, and has no business in the private sector except to collect taxes and to help small business get on its feet...

Everything would seem to be easy—and very difficult. What tortures me most is the mistakes we have made. The main one is that the first and decisive step toward real economic reforms was not reinforced with the requisite backup. Neither politically, socially, or organizationally, nor with a sufficient theoretical base, nor in terms of personnel. Too much time, effort, and attention was devoted to the tactics of political actions; often the tactics became an end in themselves.

Today the consequences of these mistakes are complicating the objective problems of the transition period.

I again urge everyone interested in a strong, self-reforming, and modern Russia to cooperate. We need a multiparty strategy for the implementation of reforms. And I mean precisely reforms—profound and fundamental.

I particularly want to single out the question of officialdom.

The overwhelming majority of Russian civil servants were reared by the previous system and it has to be admitted that we inherited all its defects. It is by no means my intention to look for new "scapegoats" of any kind, but the incompetence of the administrative apparatus is fantastic.

Our Russian bureaucrat is used to commanding, ordering, and giving instructions and is always ready to "help a friend," while not overlooking himself—the only thing he is not used to is working. But an administrative official's job is not to shuffle pieces of paper, especially all day long; it is to ensure the optimum speed for society's progress at the least cost. What we have is the opposite: The time wasted and the cost are invariably the maximum. For the state, for society, and for the individual alike.

Our bureaucratic structures have not just been inherited from the past. They are also being strengthened by the current political confrontation. A considerable proportion of our officials do not wish to accept the new social system. They have a vicious hatred for democracy, which presupposes responsibility. Moreover, many officials who are paid by the government work against it and do not even make a secret of the fact. In what other country would this be possible?

The time of persuasion has long since past.

I am very worried by the growth of crime in Russia. Over the past three years it has been directly linked with political instability, which is paralyzing the law and law-enforcement agencies. Criminal and semi-criminal elements and groups are often used for political ends.

It is no secret that many people today are suited by a situation of controlled instability and inconsistent laws [mnogozakoniye]. It makes it possible to extract extremely substantial political and monetary gains from the mire. The complete eradication of crime is an illusion. But stopping the blatant and overt spread of criminality throughout the country is the obligation of all politicians and statesmen. There is no reason for disputes between members of the legislature and the executive here.

Unfortunately the commission created to tackle this problem has worked ineffectively since its first day. And people in the localities continue to put their hope in Moscow.

The most important task of the transition period is the country's economic recovery.

We want Russia's economy to thrive and develop by meeting market demand to the maximum extent in the interests of the consumer and by having producers compete for this demand. This is the strategic goal, and if we are objective about it, we are only just starting to implement it. We will be able to create a competitive and

socially oriented market if we put an end to the military-bureaucratic state's diktat in the economy. This diktat can only be eliminated through the efforts of millions of property owners.

This is precisely why the following problems are paramount today:

the speediest transition of state enterprises to market conditions of operation. A ban on nonmarket bureaucratic administration of them by organs of power at any level;

the expedited creation and fine-tuning of economic and financial levers of management;

a substantial redistribution of overall national tax revenues in favor of local organs of power;

measures to curb inflation and tame the budget deficit;

state assistance and support in creating modern banking infrastructures throughout the country's territory, including banks with which entrepreneurs and private individuals can freely and calmly deposit foreign currency (underwritten by a state guarantee).

But the prime need is for real support for the cause of the producer working for the market—he can be a private or a state producer, anyone, so long as he is indeed a commodity producer and indeed operates wholly and completely in the market. Of course, there is also a need for political, legal, fiscal, and investment support on a commercial and competitive basis. This is also the main condition for foreign capital to flow into Russia and for Russian capital to stay in the country.

The experience of a year of reforms has confronted us with yet another major problem. In order to shake off the bureaucratic state's diktat over the economy there is a need for fundamental transformations of power itself. There is a need for in-depth state-political and legal reform. Its thrust is to ensure in practice the power of society over the state, citizens' economic freedoms, the principle of universal economic responsibility for your own actions, and the federal nature of the new Russian state system. All this can be achieved only along the road of democracy, strict constitutionality, the separation of powers at the center, and resolute decentralization.

The events of December through March prove that confrontation is a dangerous blind alley. The longer it goes on, the less its susceptibility to being controlled. Today it can be stopped by the people of Russia—at the referendum. I believe that our citizens will display wisdom, heed their sense of self-preservation, and vote at the referendum for civil peace and accord, stability, and Russia's regeneration.

We cannot allow the people currently thirsting for revenge to destroy the country once again. But we will not allow the persecution of old people who continue to believe in the communist idea. That is their right, and we will respect it.

Democracy in present-day Russia is not only a dream or a wish; its green shoots are visible and real. They are to be seen in the freedom of speech and of political meetings and assemblies, in the freedom of public and political activity. The green shoots of democracy can be seen in the fact that people are losing their old fear, in the universal demand for legality and constitutionality, in the changing role of the courts.

Finally the green shoots of democracy are also evident in the fact that the Russian political elite has to this day not displayed the slightest wish to resolve its internal disputes and differences with the use of arms, although there have been suitable opportunities.

Yet another important question is the social content of reforms. The transformations and changes of recent years have as yet resulted in losses for a substantial majority of Russians. The immediate task is to do things in such a way that reform starts to bring really tangible dividends for individuals.

Today we have a considerably better understanding of what this requires.

First: Stopping the amoral and unthinking distribution of money in any form to all and sundry without discrimination. This only fuels inflation, inflates prices, and leads to ruin for most of the population. We need "targeted," focused material support for the social groups really in need of social protection.

Second: Honest and productive labor for which there is a market demand must be justly rewarded and ensure the possibility of a decent life.

Third: All possible use must be made of the state's opportunities to expand the sphere of productive market labor and increase the economic and social benefits it brings.

Fourth: The immutability of the principle of private ownership and obligatory economic responsibility on the part of the state to the individual and the property owner for the consequences of decisions and laws adopted by the state must be asserted.

Fifth: There must be an effective policy of protecting citizens from the arbitrariness of officials, not just the pursuit of individual corrupt officials.

Russia is a great power. It will join with other states in standing guard over international order and stability.

The tendency toward disintegration is being replaced by a converse tendency. The economic and human interests of enormous masses of people rebel against artificial divisions and the severance of ties. Integration is also reasserting its influence on the territory of the former USSR. The first step toward rapprochement on a new basis—taken in December 1991—was not the last. It initiated the independent states' movement toward each

other. And today it is important not to obstruct this with cries about forcible unification and the revision of borders.

The tragic division of Russian culture into ours and theirs has been overcome. Now our task is to overcome the division of the Russian people. And the citizenship question is among the most urgent here. Many of the difficulties we are encountering today are linked with the fact that not only our country's resources, its land and nature, have been exhausted, but also our souls.

I feel deeply and keenly that Russian culture is in crisis. The red pencil of Glavlit [Main Administration of Literary Publications] has been replaced by the censorship of the ruble. Theaters and museums are in financial difficulties. Our screens are full of cheap imported products. It is very difficult to make a good Russian film. There are difficulties in publishing the artistic works which have always been the glory of Russian culture. Publishers are pumping out the literary equivalent of cheap consumer goods. The periodical press is dying, including our famous "heavy" literary journals. Yet even during the worst years they nurtured the flame of democratic hopes.

Culture continues to thrive today thanks to the traditional selfless dedication of the Russian intelligentsia. Today it is clear that, without rational state protectionism, culture cannot survive. But after all, it is not the market that is killing culture. In countries with a developed market economy culture thrives to the full. And the salvation of Russian culture lies not in a return to the communal, communist apartment [kvartira], but in the construction of a new, economically and politically strong Russia. Let me recall that the huge upsurge in Russian culture in the late 19th and early 20th century rose on the wings of Russia's young and strong capitalist class.

Today we have much to restore. Including Russia's lofty spirituality. Of course, the president will not stand aside from this extremely important matter. I intend to create a presidential council for culture and am ready to accept all reasonable proposals and advice.

I am convinced that Russia will definitely achieve the sort of level of democracy and freedom—economic and intellectual—in which the mighty Russian intellect and talent will once more shine like the purest gold. The road which lies ahead cannot be traveled without the intelligentsia. Russia cannot afford for the traditional and, for it, tragic rift between the state and intelligentsia to continue. The illusion of intellectual messianism has no future. But neither does the authorities' crass neglect of the intellect. Today we need to keep the country on course in its peaceful movement along the path of highly difficult reforms.

My peers are gradually disappearing. A few more years, and our young successors will be deciding the country's fate. Probably they will do many things differently, and, most likely, better than us. Of course, new problems will

arise, but I am sure that Russia will achieve prosperity and become a free and strong country. Maybe my generation will catch a glimpse of it. But absolutely certainly the younger generation will see it. And not only see, but live in it. Happier and more serenely. Probably this is the sense of our sufferings. The sense of what we are doing. May our efforts be crowned with success!

Yeltsin Receives Russian Religious Leaders

LD2004141093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1334 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Olga Kostromina and Gennadi Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS - Russian President Boris Yeltsin met the country's religious leaders in the Kremlin here today.

"This is the first such representative meeting between the head of the secular authority and hierarchs of the country's religious communities," the president noted.

"The purpose of our meeting is to discuss problems that are of equal concern for the state authorities and the religious circles. They include the safeguarding of civil peace, the renaissance of spiritual life and the people's moral revival, the guaranteeing of human rights, primarily the freedom of conscience and conviction," Yeltsin stated.

"Our society and our citizens are gradually getting rid of the sorry legacy and vicious tradition of militant atheism, getting rid of the utterly incorrect attitude to religion and to everything linked with religion, engendered by atheism. The state is fully aware of its guilt to believers for the previous savage policy of repressions against religious convictions... The struggle against religion has spiritually impoverished our people and has brought to a head numerous other, far from spiritual problems. Life itself has prompted us to draw the following conclusion: Militant atheism must be deleted forever from our official policy."

Having admitted that several confessions are now in dire straits, the president stressed that a state programme, backed by budget allocations, was needed to solve the problem. He moved to jointly discuss a corresponding draft decree.

Addresses Religious Leaders

LD2004185693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1450 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 20 April (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin had a meeting in the Kremlin today with leaders of confessions and religious centers. He said:

Your holinesses, your eminences, your graces, respected leaders, and representatives of confessions and denominations!

I cordially greet you in the Kremlin. In response to many requests, I have considered it necessary and extremely important to meet you.

This is the first time for decades that such a meeting is held between the head of secular power and the hierarchs of the country's religious communities in such a representative composition.

I see the goal of our meeting in discussing the problems which worry equally the state authorities and religious circles. They are the preservation of civil peace, the revival of the spirituality and morals of the people, and the provision of human rights, above all freedom of conscience and belief.

I hope that different attitudes to religion and theological views will not prevent us from discussing these issues. After all, we are unanimous on the main point, that is, on common adherence to values common to all mankind and the ideals of peace and good.

Processes unprecedented in depth and scale are now taking place in Russia's state and public life. They also affect such an important aspect of people's life as religion.

Society and people in our country are gradually ridding themselves of the sad legacy and vicious tradition of militant atheism and the profoundly fallacious attitude to religion and everything related to it which this atheism breeds.

The state fully comprehends its guilt before the faithful for the previous ruthless policy of persecution of religious beliefs and for the fact that eternal and sacred human feelings were methodically eradicated among the people. The struggle against religion brought spiritual poverty to the people and the exacerbation of many problems which are far from spiritual.

Life itself has made us to draw the following conclusion: State policy should give up militant atheism for good. The individual's spiritual world, beliefs and convictions is a sphere of personal choice.

The state has no right to determine them.

The state does not have the right to interfere in the confessions' internal affairs and to thrust its will upon them.

We are against any discrimination against both believers and confessions. All confessions have the right to exist, if their work does not violate the law.

I particularly want to say that the move which we are making today toward religions and believers is not some kind of flirting with religion nor a behest of some fashion. It has not been dictated by some latest political goals.

Step by step, Russia is freeing itself from the heavy chains of its past. How quickly and successfully this

process will progress will depend on whether we manage to defend the course of transformations. The success of reforms is connected with the participation of all the citizens, including believers, in constructive and difficult work.

It is impossible to think of Russia's future without reviving spirituality and morality or without its people's original cultures and traditions. No doubt, religion, in all its variety and its indissoluble links with Russian traditions, could and should play a special role in this.

I am aware of the fact that some political groupings are trying to draw religious organizations and believers into struggle. I regard it as very important that political confrontation in society should not be compounded by inter-religious strife.

Let me thank you, all Russian citizens who are believers, for your calm and patience, for the fact that you do not allow religious strife to flare up and, finally, for holding sacred your duty to God and people.

In its essence, the task of religion is to consolidate. A united society is a necessary condition for Russia's prosperity and the full revival of its spiritual base. It is precisely in this that I see the main purpose of cooperation between the state and religious organizations.

Returning religious buildings and other property to religious organizations is a sore problem. Many of them are now occupied by various institutions. This problem clearly cannot be solved all at once. A state program calculated, perhaps, for five to 10 years and backed by corresponding allocations from the budget is needed.

I think that a decree or instruction, a draft of which I propose to discuss today, could become a step toward unravelling this difficult knot.

The difficult material situation of a number of confessions is yet another problem. I understand that the assistance of state bodies, charities and entrepreneurs is required.

The state will do everything it can. Specifically, I have in mind providing funds to rebuild and restore religious buildings. You know that there is the "heritage" [naslediye] program. Last year 1.5 billion rubles were allocated for these purposes from the federal budget. This practice will be continued in the future, too.

I would also say that the issue of partly exempting from taxation the income of enterprises and organizations, if it is directed to assist religious organizations, should be examined.

Vyacheslav Polosin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Mercy, and Charity, is here. I think we would support the committee's corresponding initiative.

We could discuss all these and other issues now.

I am ready to listen to you and your constructive proposals.

Government To Aid Religion

*LD2004154893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503
GMT 20 Apr 93*

["Russian President Meets Confession Heads - Details"; by ITAR-TASS correspondents Olga Kostromina and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The meeting discussed a draft instruction "on passing over cult buildings and other property to religious organizations", which provides for the return to the church of all property confiscated from it over 70 years of Soviet power.

The return shall be done within two months.

The Russian president told the meeting about his decision to create at the government a department for religion to be supervised By First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko. In this connection, Boris Yeltsin stressed the department will not interfere in church affairs, which was done by the Council for Religious Affairs under the Soviet Council of Ministers, but will render efficient and specific assistance to all religious organizations of Russia.

Yeltsin Addresses International Cooperation Association

*LD2004181593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1712
GMT 20 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin addressed today the presentation ceremony of an International Cooperation Association, an independent public organization to contribute to the development of international relations of new democratic Russia and expansion of the dialogue in the humanitarian, economic, cultural and other spheres.

Russian First Vice-Premier Oleg Lobov has been elected association president.

"Russia is living through a historic change. I am sure it is the change for the better. But we must be honest and do not promise better tomorrow to people. It simply cannot be this way," said Boris Yeltsin.

Estimating the reform path, the president said "there has been plenty of great deeds and mistakes. I think the most important is that people's psychology is changing. For the first time in the Russian history, people began to enjoy freedom. To my mind, these changes are irreversible.

"Chains of the administrative-command system have been cast off, the people's creative potential is opening

and worthy life is being formed. Structural reorganization of the economy is underway and is has already brought first results".

Judging by Yeltsin's trip around Russia, "life is hard, but people support the reforms and demand they be implemented more insistently.

"I count on support of the Russian public, intellectuals, the business community, workers, peasants, farmers," said Boris Yeltsin.

As the presentation ceremony was attended by several foreign ambassadors, the president stressed "Russian reforms will progress quicker and more efficient if they are supported by the international community. The Vancouver meeting of the Russian and U.S. leaders and the Tokyo meeting of foreign and financial ministers from the seven industrialized nations have shown our partners have passed from words to deeds".

Speaking of lofty phrases on alleged Russia's begging, the president described them as a "mere political speculation. Russia is not a beggar. Those speaking of it, feel deprived and poor, do not believe in their own capabilities, the capabilities of Russia and Russians.

"We are rich, but it happened so we did not learn to wisely dispose of our riches. People, saying we must refuse from foreign support, are cunning. They do not want us to progress more quickly and reduce costs of the transitional period, they do not want us to use the world experience," said Yeltsin.

Further on Yeltsin Comments

*LD2004220393 Moscow Russian Television Network in
Russian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[Video report by correspondent N. Buchatskaya on meeting of International Cooperation Association in Moscow on 20 April, including recorded segment of President Yeltsin's address—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has attended the presentation of a new non-government organization—an international cooperation association. It has been founded to conduct an international dialogue in science, economy, ecology, culture, and sport. There are already many ideas and programs. For example, a space conversion center has recently been set up. Those speaking stressed that the informal spirit of the association will advance international initiatives, and its President Oleg Lobov assured that any scientist can come to them with his program.

[Yeltsin] Today it is not enough to simply proclaim attractive ideas, goals and programs. It is necessary to clearly point out not just what to do, but how to do it in a rather specific way. [applause]

I believe that the International Cooperation Association can become one of these structures. Judging by its statutory goals and tasks and some modest but positive experience of its work, it is these very structures that are

called upon to replace the so-called friendship societies and other nomenklatura feeding troughs run at the state's expense, which were made legal in the past.

Legal Experts Comment on Yeltsin Draft Constitution

PM2104094393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Irina Demchenko report: "Experts Make High Assessment of Boris Yeltsin's Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The draft new Russian Federation constitution, which B. Yeltsin first mentioned 14 April, had been sent for expert appraisal three days previously by approximately 10 leading specialists in the sphere of state law. Their comments and proposals are now, according to confidential information, being generalized and taken into consideration by two parallel working groups—under the leadership of Sergey Shakhrai and Sergey Alekseyev respectively. It is well known that on certain issues the views held by Shakhrai and Alekseyev do not wholly coincide.

The presidential draft constitution, which specialists are assessing as very modern and interesting, contains 130 articles and a number of transitional provisions (Section Three). Section One of the document is entitled "The Russian Federation's Constitutional System" and comprises the headings "Foundations of the Constitutional System," "People's Rights and Freedoms," "Citizenship," "The President," "Justice," and so forth.

Vladimir Tumanov, one of the most prestigious lawyers in this field, described the Russian constitutional system on the basis of this document as a "French-style semi-presidential republic." In such a republic the government is responsible for its activity not only to the country's president—as is the case in the United States, for instance—but also to parliament (the Federal Assembly). Although only the prime minister has to undergo ratification by parliament, and all the rest of the cabinet is formed by the president personally on representations from the premier, the government's program must subsequently be approved by parliament, and it monitors the progress in executing that program. The draft Russian constitution includes solutions to possible problems—control functions are mainly focused on the chamber of parliament which includes the local administration, heads, who are presidential appointees. Moreover, in certain situations the president is entitled to dissolve parliament early.

Section Two repeats the Federation Treaty almost in full, although some of its provisions have been reworked and amended. On the basis of an opinion expressed by one of the experts, one of the main contradictions in this document, prepared by the Constitutional Commission, has been removed—whereby former autonomous areas were given more substantive rights than oblasts with larger populations.

Section Three is entitled "Transitional Provisions." According to the lawyer Roman Lifshits, the aim of this section is to ensure state regulation of new organs of power in the period before the elections. For instance, it states that, prior to the elections to a bicameral parliament comprising a State Duma and a Federation Council, the functions of supreme legislative organ will be carried out by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

In V. Tumanov's opinion, the draft constitution is still incomplete and will undergo considerable alteration at the finalization stage. At the same time, he believes that it is a very good basis for creating a constitution—but one that will serve for an interim transitional period rather than forever. R. Lifshits said that it is a "good basis, which needs to be discussed and adopted." Virtually all the experts I talked to made no less than 10-15 amendments and proposals which they consider fundamental.

The new draft, in Professor A. Vengerov's opinion, is the most successful of all the drafts previously proposed. It is relatively short and simple, it resolves all the main issues, and it "does not contain invocations, like the draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission." The state lawyers do not consider it wrong of B. Yeltsin, who headed the commission, to have stopped relying on it, drawing up his own draft instead when the commission got bogged down in contradictions. They can see major problems with the mechanism for adopting the new constitution—on the one hand, it needs to be adopted before any elections; on the other, it is impossible to submit the draft to the current Congress of People's Deputies.

Drafter of Yeltsin Constitution Interviewed

MK2004131093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, 20 Apr 93 p (signed to press 19 Apr)

[Article by Sergey Parkhomenko under the "Initiative" rubric: "The Constitutional Field Comes Alive in Spring. Sergey Alekseyev Did Not Stay in the Shadow Too Long"]

[Text] Observers have to piece together the text of the draft in which President Yeltsin's latest constitutional initiative has embodied itself, very much like a computer generates a composite drawing: Separate elements are being extracted—through careful screening—from statements by Boris Yeltsin and his associates. This occupation has become especially intriguing after administration chief Sergey Filatov told a press conference a week ago that "the goal of presidential policy in the last few months has been to ensure the adoption of a new Constitution," while the president himself at a meeting with journalists a day later described the constitutional reform as a "paramount question" of the current political agenda since "those republics of the former USSR that have managed to adopt new constitutions have

moved ahead faster with their reforms, and have not been confronted with a crisis of power."

As was easily discovered, the working group preparing the "presidential" draft of the Russian Federation Constitution is headed by Sergey Alekseyev, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He rose to one of the leading places in the country's legal elite when he was still chairman of the legislation committee in the Lukyanov union parliament and then chairman of the USSR Committee on Constitutional Oversight. Lately Alekseyev has been head of the Russian Center on Private Law that he established himself.

Invited to work out the presidential initiative, among others, were Sergey Shakhrai, Anatoliy Sobchak, and Yuriy Kalmykov (who a few days ago was officially presented as first deputy Russian justice minister and immediately appointed acting minister); taking part in the drafting were also professors Vladimir Tumanov, and Aleksandr M. Yakovlev....

"I shall say frankly that I was dismayed that what the president originally proposed for the referendum was the official draft of the Congress' Constitutional Commission," Sergey Alekseyev pointed out in an interview with SEGODNYA. "Is there any need to say that this is a document that does not ensure progress for our society but only states what already exists—and with considerable pro-soviet elements. But the Congress is really great. This wonderful body, which rules our country, rejected the president's initiative. And thereby, I think, it gave all of us a chance to prepare a draft worthy of Russia and its future—based on knowledge, on professionals of a good, really good class..."

"The idea originated with the president but in fact it has, of course, been around for a while: to select the best features from all the existing draft constitutions. Because recently we have been seeing not competition of drafts but competition of personalities. This is why we agreed among ourselves: Our version must not be attributed any particular authorship; it should not be linked to any concrete names...."

Alekseyev's group, by his own admission, "has integrated into a single text many constructions, and decisions" from the Congress' official draft, from the documents that appeared at the time of the previous (again in spring, exactly a year ago) sharp intensification of the discussion on constitutional reform—on the way to the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies. Those documents were known as the "Alekseyev-Sobchak project" and the "Shakhrai project." Use has also been made, although to a lesser extent, of the version proposed by professor Avgust Mishin on behalf of Shatalin's Reform Foundation.

"Still, the draft has been based on the concept of a presidential republic," Sergey Alekseyev noted. "We are not ready for a parliamentary form. That calls for a developed political system—with parties, with a special, fully formed political culture, with some firm rules of the

game.... Furthermore, although within a parliamentary republic political reforms also develop inevitably, their results will not come about until not only decades but hundreds of years have passed. And the path inevitably lies through cataclysms, confrontation, tragedies: Such is its nature—the nature of this parliamentary republic...."

"And in spite of the fact that my internal convictions are different—in principle I favor a mixed version, with large prerogatives for the parliament and greater independence for the government—I am increasingly inclined to believe that at present there is no other option except a presidential republic."

This decision will naturally quite satisfy Boris Yeltsin. He does not have to fight with his internal convictions. He states quite frankly: "There is no other form, except the presidency, that would ensure effective authority in a multi-ethnic state...."

Deputy Premier Shumeyko Holds News Conference 21 Apr

New Constitution if Yeltsin Wins

LD2104113293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Video report by correspondent R. Safronov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Should there be a victorious outcome of the referendum for Yeltsin, a constitutional assembly is to be convened that would adopt a new constitution. This is a most decisive measure. First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said at a news conference today. The role of the participants in a constitutional assembly would be limited exclusively to adopting the constitution and they would subsequently be deprived of the right to occupy any top elected office or post in government. The assembly itself would be dissolved.

The present system of representation in the Congress does not reflect the structure of Russia that has developed since the declaration of sovereignty by a number of autonomies and the concluding of the new Federation Treaty. The period of shock therapy, Shumeyko believes, ended with the change in the cabinet and an adjustment of the course of reforms is now taking place. He said that one of the mistakes of the previous period was the authorities' disregard for the social protection of the poor. According to his data, the fall in production in the country has virtually ceased. Shumeyko believes the propaganda campaign launched by the government in the period of the referendum preparations will bear fruit.

Lobov's Appointment Not To Change Policy

LD2104110593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1027 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko has denied claims that the inclusion of Oleg Lobov in the Russian Government as first vice-premier and economics minister will alter the course of the cabinet's economic policy.

Addressing journalists here today, he stressed that anybody, who joins the government, is bound to share its policy. "Otherwise, this appointment would have been impossible," Shumeyko stressed.

According to the first vice-premier, Lobov's task is to turn the former State Planning Committee into an efficient Economics Ministry. It is to get down to "regional reforms and long-range assessment of the progress of reforms in Russia's regions," he stated.

Rutskoy 'Ready for Conversation' With Yeltsin

LD2004213493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of the Russian intelligentsia, including Boris Vasilyev, Viktor Rozov, Andrey Dementyev, and Vadim Churban met Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy in the Kremlin today. At issue was not just the forthcoming referendum but also the future of Russia. Both the president and the vice president are now seen as guarantees for stability and civil accord. That is why Aleksandr Rutskoy was asked a very direct question: Is he still acting together with the president or have they now parted to go their separate ways?

In a long and wide-ranging speech Aleksandr Vladimirovich assured the intellectuals that he has always supported Yeltsin and will stay with him to the end. However, a marked change occurred in their relations after August 1991. He said that all ideas and proposals put forward by the vice president are being blocked by the president and the presidential office. It is still unclear whether this is being done deliberately or accidentally.

[Begin Rutskoy recording] At this stage I feel that there is an infringement of my ethics, humanity, and conscience. [end recording]

[Announcer] Later in the conversation with the representatives of the intelligentsia, answering calls for the preservation of stability of state power, Aleksandr Rutskoy said that he is ready for a conversation with Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin. However, he wants the initiative for such a meeting to come from the president of Russia.

Commentator Scores Rutskoy's Ambitions, Tactics

PM2104110793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Otto Latsis: "What the Voters Learned About General A. Rutskoy From His Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Speech"]

[Text] The vice president's report was intended, of course, to blitz the public with information about his political opponents. And to blitz them at a time when you can say anything you like, because no one will have time to check anything before the referendum, and after the referendum the inevitable refutations of the orator's "mistakes" will not get anyone worked up. Nonetheless, from the report television viewers learned a great deal about the orator himself.

Above all, they learned that the vice president wants to be president, as soon as possible and by hook or by crook—there is no other explanation for his behavior. The vice president, who was elected with the president, has started operating separately, blatantly going against the will of the electorate. It is impossible to interpret these actions as an accidental error—there must be good reasons. But if there is a real chance that Russia might get such a president (incidentally, some papers are already suggesting it), then it is very important to understand what political methods he is liable to use.

On 16 April A. Rutskoy demonstrated that he is not shy about using methods of political harassment. While his colleagues in the Russian political leadership were working, he was collecting the dirt. He made public accusations that were not verified by anyone—either by the prosecutor's office or by the court. He had not sought verification either, having passed to the court only one file from the 11 suitcases full of documents he said he had. But the general prosecutor, who spoke there and then, could not say anything about this file either. What happens if the vice president is unable to corroborate even one of these claims?

The compromising material in the report was selected by the familiar methods used in dirty political campaigns: True facts, but common knowledge for a long time and totally unrelated to those whose names are mentioned alongside them, plus invented "facts," plus facts that have been unintentionally or deliberately misinterpreted. The latter method is convenient when it is a matter of complex economic processes which only specialists can understand without assistance.

We also learned that the vice president is dead against the reforms that are being conducted in the country. Actually, this is not news, but it is perhaps the first time this speaker has tried to provide a comprehensive analysis of the problem and his own overview, "explaining" all our ills. Apparently, the trouble is that there is a lot of thieving going on, and it is entirely due to the market reforms. There is a lot of thieving, no doubt about it, but no one has shown that there is more theft under the reforms than there was prior to the reforms. In particular, there is no evidence that responsibility for the plundering of national wealth should lie with those people whom Rutskoy does not like. Finally, in no way can this be described as the chief cause of our economic inefficiency.

But if you really want to do this, you stretch a point and rely on public ignorance. For example, the opinions of a respected academic institute, which a specialist would view with caution because of the very nature of the opinions, are presented as the ultimate truth and are then deliberately misinterpreted (Rutskoy's interpretation is not the interpretation in the institute's document)—so then you get the frightening figure of \$17 billion. Then we get the utterly fantastic operation which involves multiplying these billions by the current dollar exchange rate, in order to give the impression that the entire GNP has been taken out of the country, which, of course, would fully explain our poverty, if it were physically possible.

Furthermore, we learn that our vice president is a supremely prudent man: As head of an organization that was no stranger to commercial operations, which was definitely involved in theft and which should not have had the vice president as its head, Rutskoy did not put his signature on any financial documents, as he triumphantly announced to the public.

Finally, some miscellaneous items: What poor Mercedes's and Volgas he was given and what a meager dacha he has and what a lot he pays for it. Incidentally, as a voter, I personally would not object to the vice president's paying nothing at all for a dacha, but I would very much want him to know that the sum he said he paid is laughable by today's standards.

The information contained in Rutskoy's report has yet to be analyzed. But even now there is one thing that can be said: If there is a real chance that a politician with such views and such moral notions could become president, then for that reason alone we should do everything we can at the upcoming referendum to defeat the opponents of the reforms.

Property Committee Issues Report on Rutskoy's Statement

LD2004163093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1157 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property is drawing up an official report on Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy's Friday [16 April] parliamentary statement, journalists were told here today by Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays, the committee chairman.

Commenting on the vice-president's charges against the leadership of the State Property Committee, Chubays expressed categorical disagreement with Rutskoy's claims that the state committee had obstructed the provision of premises to the vice-president's Anti-Crime Commission. He said that the commission was offered at least four buildings, which were all turned down for different reasons by the vice-president's apparatus.

Replying to the charge that the cost of the property of privatised enterprises was underestimated, the vice-premier noted that Rutskoy did not point out a single violation of the legislation, but preferred to resort to "emotional comparisons" between the cost of such enterprises and prices of passenger cars. Chubays said that the cost of such property was estimated at its depreciated value and only a working collective could buy an enterprise for this sum. Chubays said he himself was not fully in accord with the law enforced method of assessing such property, but stressed that "State Property Committee officials could be prosecuted for authorising some other method of evaluation".

Chubays said the vice-president was right about property abuses in the Western Group of Troops and about certain violations committed during the privatisation of the Nakhodka port. The vice-premier was very much displeased with the results of the work done by the Control Commission that looked into the affairs of the Western Group of Troops and had to fire the State Property Committee official who headed it. In the second case, the violation, committed by the local State Property Committee, was corrected on agreement with the Transport Ministry.

Chubays described Rutskoy's statement as a "skillfully concocted mixture of real facts, slightly distorted facts, and outright lies". "It was a stunning statement from the emotional point of view," he admitted. Chubays believes the purpose of the statement was to "restore the vice-president's political image and to deal a blow at personal political opponents". "As to the part of the statement, dealing with privatisation, Rutskoy's speech rested on the ideology of a large bureaucratic group, which is losing control over the economy," Chubays claimed.

Communists Deny Planning Attempt on Yeltsin's Life

PM2104094193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 1

[Statement signed by unidentified members of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Executive Committee: "Is the Burning of the Reichstag Needed Again?"]

[Text] Every day we hear that soon the president will be no more. Some dark forces are allegedly planning an attempt on his life. VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA and the "Itogi" television program are instilling into the mass consciousness that Communists are preparing "the physical removal of the president."

This is not a new thing historically. Once before Communists were condemned for the burning of the Reichstag. Today everyone knows who actually kindled the flames.

The Communist Party of the Russian Federation resolutely denies this monstrous lie and slander. Nothing of the sort has been the case or is so now—neither in the

party's program documents, nor in its practical actions. The pro-presidential mass media are seeking to provoke a new anticommunist campaign by inflaming passions. The goal is obvious: To slander the Communist Party and impede its revival, to pull the wool over the people's eyes and induce them to vote for the president and his policy in the referendum.

Bearing in mind that this is not the first provocative statement, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation intends to sue.

[Signed] Members of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Executive Committee

Salvation Front Calls For Anti-Yeltsin March

PM2004160193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 2

[Announcement by National Salvation Front Political Council: "March of the Irate People"]

[Text] On 23 April in Moscow the National Salvation Front is to hold a march of the irate people against corruption, the prices mayhem, Yeltsin's treacherous policy, his government, and the "collective Rasputin." We call on Muscovites to assemble on Friday, 23 April at 1700 hours on Mayakovskiy Square. The procession will go via Manezh Square and Lubyanka and terminate on Staraya Ploshchad outside Government House.

Regional Officials Given Foreign Ministry Briefing

PM2004152993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Yelena Musatova report: "Autonomously, But Not in Isolation"]

[Text] A regular meeting-cum-conference with representatives of Russian Federation subjects has been held at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Opening the meeting V. Savelyev, chief of the Administration for Relations with the Russian Supreme Soviet, Political, and Social Organizations, stressed that the Federation Treaty, being the basic political and legal document regulating federative relations, attributes to federation subjects the new capacity of autonomous participants in matters of international and foreign economic relations.

It was noted that the kind of foreign policy that accords with present-day trends in the development of a lawful, democratic society in Russia is one that fully reflects the national, historical, cultural, and religious peculiarities of its resident peoples, giving due consideration to the interests of all regions. International practice proves that in the foreign arena the federation acts as the equal partner of other states regardless of the degree of

autonomy accorded to its constituent parts. An isolationist policy by any one of the parts of the federation cannot be effective.

One of the issues discussed was the question of the foreign economic relations of the Russian Federation and its subjects. The Russian Foreign Ministry stressed its readiness to assist federation subjects in the quest for reliable foreign partners, in the expert evaluation of the situation in world markets, and in elaborating and implementing specific programs for the foreign economic activity of regions.

FITU Leader on Yeltsin's Meeting With 'Free' Unions

LD2004185893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1605 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—"Counterposing the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (RFITU) to the so-called free trade unions is an attempt to downplay the importance of the largest trade union centre that unites over 60 million working people in the country's societal life," RFITU Chairman Igor Klochkov told ITAR-TASS.

On Boris Yeltsin's meeting with representatives of alternative trade unions held on Monday [19 April], he denounced reports by some news organisations which projected these trade union associations as the true exponents of the will of the majority of Russia's population.

"I am not against setting up new trade unions but for justice sake I would note that they number only several tens of thousands people rather than the mythical five million," Klochkov said.

"Beyond that, some new trade union associations are strongly politicised and their leaders, having forgotten about trade unions' protective functions, pursue purely selfish goals."

As for the RFITU, "it consistently upholds the interests of the broad mass of the working people using methods of social partnership and, if need be, collective actions to the point of strikes," Klochkov said.

Referendum Issues

Constitutional Court Referendum Hearing Continues

Lawyers, Experts Address Court

LD2004154193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1501 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksander Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The Constitutional Court of Russia today opened hearings on the constitutionality of the Ninth Congress decision "On the all-Russia referendum of April 25, 1993, the procedure for summing up its results and the mechanism for implementing them". A complaint against this decision was filed by a group of MPs [members of parliament].

Taking the floor on their behalf, lawyer Igor Gurinovich noted that the referendum questions essentially referred to one "concrete president and to the concrete deputies and were therefore regulated by general norms", meaning that no amendments or supplements to the Constitution were needed in this case. "Hence, the counting of ballots according to the number of eligible voters, fixed by the congress, is unlawful," Gurinovich claimed.

In his reply speech, representative of the side upholding the legality of the Ninth Congress decisions, Doctor of Law Boris Krylov stressed that according to Article 104 of the Constitution the Congress of People's Deputies was the supreme body of state power in the country. It is entitled to pass any decision within the competence of the Russian Federation. Moreover, he referred to the referendum law, which says that the procedure of a nationwide plebiscite is regulated not only by this law, "but also by other legal acts", and this rule is observed in the given case.

"Foreign practice knows no precedent when the outcome of a referendum was decided by a majority of eligible voters," head of the Comparative Law Centre under the Russian State and Law Institute, Doctor of Law Anatoliy Kovler said. He submitted to the court an expert conclusion, drawn up by a team of eminent law scholars. Kovler noted that the referendum law, now in force in the Russian Federation, did not take into account the possible decline of the voters' political activity.

In his opinion, the decision of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on way to sum up the results of the votes on the first and second plebiscite-type questions violated Article 35 of the referendum law. The third and fourth questions were of constitutional importance and the outcome of the vote on them should be decided by a majority vote of Russia's eligible voters.

Doctor of Law Boris Lazarev, who took the floor next in the capacity of expert, claimed that the Ninth Congress decision on the referendum did not contradict the constitution. Lazarev stressed that the Congress had every right to pass a decision on another vote-counting procedure. "This is a normal act of a temporary nature intended for the period needed to prepare and hold the given referendum. It required no changes in the constitution," the expert stressed. He noted also that "the Congress decisions, formulated in the form of a resolution, had the force of a law or even more than that. According to the Russian Constitution, all the laws adopted by the Congress are superior to the laws approved by the Supreme Soviet".

The hearings are continuing.

Evening Session Meets

LD2004180593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1605 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow, 20 April—The Constitutional Court heard today the experts and the sides' concluding speeches and then retired to reach a verdict on the case that goes under the name "On the 25 April 1993 all-Russian referendum, with regard to the procedure for summing up its results and the mechanism for implementing the referendum."

Addressing the evening session as an expert representative of the Central Commission for Holding the Referendum, Yevgeniy Kukushkin confirmed that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has, at the request of the Defense Ministry, taken the decision to exclude from participation in the referendum servicemen doing their service abroad, "as there is no possibility of ensuring the conditions under which they can fulfill their civil right." These servicemen will not be entered on the voters' lists. At the same time, Yevgeniy Kukushkin said that the Central Commission for Holding the Referendum identifies persons who have the right to take part in the referendum with those whose names have been entered on the voters' lists.

Commenting on this provision in a conversation with journalists, Aleksandr Kotenkov, a Russian Federation people's deputy, stated that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has adopted a document which blatantly restricts human rights. He also noted that according to article 47 of the constitution, laws which limit human rights and freedoms come into effect only after they have been published in the press, and the document of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet bears the stamp "Not for the press." Thus a reasonable question arises of whether or not this decision has come into effect. He also stressed that by this decision the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has stripped a considerable number of servicemen of the right to take part in the referendum.

Court Experts Disagree

LD2004184593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Video report by correspondent S. Dadyko—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The decision of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on the procedure for counting votes at the 25 April referendum caused disagreements among the Constitutional Court experts.

[Dadyko] Experts of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, which started open hearings on evaluating the constitutionality of the decision of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on the 25 April referendum,

have recognized that in order to make decisions on the first and second questions in the referendum, it is necessary to get a majority vote from the number of people who take part in the voting, as these issues do not affect constitutional norms. The third and fourth questions, regarding the pre-term elections of the president and people's deputies, ask for amendments to be introduced to the main law; that is why, in order to tackle them, it is necessary to get 50 percent plus one vote from the number of voters on the electoral roll.

Incidentally, as regards the legality of the decision with respect to the first and second questions—on confidence in the president and support for the course of reforms—the opinions of the experts diverged. One holds that a temporary norm has been introduced to the decision with regard to counting votes, and it does not contradict the constitution. His opponent is convinced that the decision is of an obviously illegal nature since, to start with, deputies should have introduced corresponding amendments to the law on referenda in the Russian Federation.

[Announcer] According to the latest information, the Constitutional Court has adjourned for consultations to decide on the constitutionality of the decision of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on the procedure for holding the referendum.

Court Rules on Referendum Voting

LD2104125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1207 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—The Russian Federation Constitutional Court ruled today that the decision of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on the all-Russian referendum was partly at variance with the Constitution, namely with Articles 4 and 5, specified in the Law on Referendums.

The decision announced today notes that the counting of results on the first two questions, namely on confidence in the president and on attitude to the government's socio-economic policy, should be conducted in accordance with the Law on Referendums. In other words, a decision is considered passed if more than half of those who take part in the referendum vote for it.

Internal Affairs Ministry Prepares for Referendum

LD2004163493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs is carrying out preventive measures on the eve of the referendum. Beginning today until 25 April inclusive around-the-clock operational duties of the leadership of the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been organized throughout the entire country. The employees of the central apparatus of the ministry have been sent on an official mission to regions with a complex crime

situation. Furthermore, an around-the-clock guarding of facilities of the referendum has been organized. The condition of transport facilities that will be used on 25 April has been checked. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with other law protecting bodies, are looking for criminals who, according to operational information, intend to hamper the convocation of the referendum by using physical force.

Justice Ministry Warns Against Referendum Interference

LD2104082393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0741 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—The Russian Justice Ministry has emphasized that the current legislation "fully ensures citizens' right to freely express their position on all topics related to the referendum."

A statement issued today by the ministry's press service sets out the legal basis for holding the referendum and liability for breaches of legislation.

In particular, it points out that "individuals who, through violence, deception, threats, and bribes, prevent Russian citizens from freely fulfilling their right to participate in the referendum and to campaign, as well as members of initiative groups referendum commissions, as well as officials from state or public bodies and organizations, who had replaced referendum papers, made false entries in voting lists, deliberately miscounted votes, as well as those who violated the confidentiality of voting will be liable to criminal or administrative prosecution."

The Justice Ministry reiterates that those who break the law on the referendum face a fine or imprisonment of up to five years.

Government Establishes Referendum Committee

LD2104105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0942 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—A government commission to ensure the preparation and the holding of the all-Russian referendum on 25 April has been set up. On instructions from the president, it will be headed by the head of the government Viktor Chernomyrdin. It consists of 18 people, including First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko; Sergey Filatov, head of the president's staff; Deputy Prime Ministers Sergey Shakhrai and Yuriy Yarov; the ministers of security, internal affairs, communications, transport, railways, press and information, and deputy ministers of defense and finance.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent today obtained the relevant instruction from the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, signed by Viktor Chernomyrdin on 15 April.

According to the document, "the main tasks of the government commission are to settle matters of material and financial backing for the referendum at the recommendation of the Central Commission for the All-Russian Referendum, to coordinate the work of the central bodies of federal executive power and other state bodies in providing the commission for the all-Russian referendum with premises, equipment, and means of transport and communication for the period of the referendum preparations, in ensuring public order during mass events connected with the referendum, and also in explaining to the population the socioeconomic policy being pursued by the Russian Federation Government."

Adviser Expects 'Relative Majority' To Support Yeltsin

LD2104020793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] Russian Federation Presidential Adviser Sergey Stankevich said on 20 April in Moscow that Boris Yeltsin would gather a relative majority of votes on the issue of confidence in the president. Stankevich also pointed out that Yeltsin would be prepared to go for an early election—as early as this year—if the eventual results of the vote were negative for the president.

The presidential adviser believes that 70 percent of referendum participants would vote in favor of reelecting the deputies. Stankevich said that the behavior at the referendum of two groups of the Russian Federation population arouses special concern of the president's supporters. These are senior citizens, who are the worst off as a result of growing inflation, and those in the agricultural sector.

Officials Discuss Referendum Questions

LD2104091793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1557 GMT on 20 April broadcasts a 40-minute live or pre-recorded studio discussion in the "Theme" series dealing with the questions on the upcoming referendum. Taking part in the program are Veniamin Sergeyevich Sokolov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, the Russian Federation's first vice president.

Discussing the first referendum question—Do you have confidence in the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin?—Sokolov says that he has not trusted Yeltsin as a person since 1989, claiming that all his actions are inconsistent and that Russia has been brought "to the brink of collapse."

For his part, Shumeyko says: "I trust the president and always have trusted him—both as a person and as a politician from the very beginning, when I voted at the Congress for Yeltsin as chairman of the Supreme Soviet. I was a trusted person when he was elected president. When he suggested that I should transfer to work in the government without the Supreme Soviet, I also agreed, and I transferred as a convinced supporter of what we were doing. I regard him as a very good politician. Veniamin Sergeyevich says that there are some inconsistent actions. If you rewind, as the saying goes, recent history and focus on all his comments, actions, and so on, you will see that they do nevertheless proceed in a single direction. In the same direction all the time. I like the fact that he can assume responsibility, and, when he assumes it, he is not afraid of responsibility, he goes boldly forward. For us, for the executive, for those who are today engaged in restructuring Russia, I would say that that man is like a battering ram: He forces a way through, and we follow him."

The second referendum question is: Do you approve the social and economic policy implemented by the president and the Government of the Russian Federation since 1992? In answer to this Sokolov says he does approve, claiming that it is clear that the policy is leading nowhere, and that the government failed to reckon with the negative effects of the policy on the lives of ordinary people.

Shumeyko responds: "I cannot agree with Veniamin Sergeyevich in this case. Not at all. I worked at an enterprise from metalworker to general director, and I know what the organization of production is all about. I know how it can change, and I know how it can all be rearranged. There are no secrets for me."

"When many people say that reform has been carried out there, they are already talking about results and they begin to compare with someone—China, for instance. China spent ten years doing it, while we have just started—one year, in effect. I will put it this way: The economy of the Soviet Union was heading straight into a dead end. The mistake made by those carrying out the reform was, perhaps, that they promised a lot rightaway. In fact, structural reorganization is still going on. Today, the defense industry has only one-eighth of the orders that it used to receive. Yesterday I was at the Kirov works, and there, during these past eight months, the production of tanks—the famous T-82s—has been completely eliminated, and a small-wheeled tractor is being manufactured—it was displayed there yesterday on the test site, and we saw what it could do. It is a tractor for the farmer."

Shumeyko goes on to say how onerous the task of conversion is, but is it succeeding, he asks? "Today, if we talk about stabilization, the main thing that has not stabilized is that the goods market has not been filled. Unfortunately, it is only 70 percent full. The goods that should be on sale are not yet being produced, and the main problem, Veniamin Sergeyevich, for enterprises

that do not work is the problem of sales. Their stocks are too high. Retail depots do not want hardware of the quality and at the price that they are offering. They do not want it. And they say: Index-link the working capital—we cannot operate. Only under socialism was such a phrase as a planned loss-making enterprise allowed. An enterprise cannot be loss-making at all," Shumeyko states. He then quotes from the law on enterprises which states that an enterprise exists to make a profit. None of the vast changes required can be made in one second, he concludes.

In response, Sokolov argues that the country had been brought to the brink of collapse last year by the reforms, and the science-intensive industries are going to the wall.

Shumeyko complains that the Supreme Soviet works too slowly in authorizing tax rate changes, for example. The government could operate much faster. Sokolov agrees that that is true.

Turning to the third referendum question: Do you consider it necessary to hold pre-term presidential elections, Sokolov says he thinks it is. Shumeyko responds: "I have no doubt at all that such a question appeared and was posed right at the end of a number of congresses. No one doubted that the president was needed. The point is that he was elected quite recently. He has his whole term ahead of him. As soon as the president resigns, the government, according to the law, also lays aside its powers immediately. In other words, we are tied here. The government is coupled with the president.

"You see, the third question. Do you agree that there should be pre-term presidential elections—is linked directly with the fourth question, and people keep putting them together—pre-term presidential elections and pre-term elections for deputies. If they all work so badly, let there be none of them. But there is no such thing in nature—that we suddenly change the authorities and leave the country without anyone at all for a certain period. And no one had any doubt about the president. I have no idea what the logic is behind that question. If you answer the first question, let us say, with yes to the president and at the same time you say yes to the third question—in other words, I have confidence in him, but he has to be reelected immediately, where is the logic there?"

Then follows a short discussion about the meaning of the word pre-term. After which Shumeyko continues: "As for pre-term elections for deputies, Veniamin Sergeyevich, if you remember when we were passing the law on the recall of deputies in the Supreme Soviet, we passed it in such a way that it was impossible to recall a single deputy. You can bend over backwards, but no one can be recalled!" After applause from the audience, Shumeyko goes on to say: "The law on the pre-term reelection of deputies will be passed in the same way. It will be passed when deputies' powers are at an end."

A member of the audience then asks if the president has not exceeded his powers, "to put it mildly," like a janitor

who decides for himself "where, when, and how much to sweep up." Shumeyko replies: "Thank you for putting it mildly. It is a very good question, but the fact is that a great deal of time has passed since the president was elected. The deputies have had the time to make as many as 350 amendments to the Constitution. And various entries have actually appeared. Article 104 of the Constitution now says that the Congress is the supreme organ of state power, which has the right to consider and decide any question that is within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. There is no similar right for the president there. The Constitution now actually says: The president is the supreme official, but it also says he is the head of the executive. That is exactly how it is phrased in the Constitution. In other words, the head of the executive is like our janitor, as you say, who decides where and what to do on the basis of the laws that have been made. And when an attempt is made, through the principle of the separation of powers, to prove that the president and Khasbulatov are fighting because one of them does not have enough power, that is a bluff because it is a matter of the delimitation of responsibilities. If the power is legislative, make it legal, and intervene in all matters. The Congress will handle any question.

"On the Supreme Soviet we read: The Supreme Soviet may pass or decide on any question that is outside the jurisdiction of the Congress. There is the whole 100 percent there [at the Congress], and the same here [at the Supreme Soviet]. So where is the executive? What is it to do?"

A member of the audience interjects to say that the president has lied. Shumeyko replies: "I know that the president has not lied and does not lie." This is greeted with some hilarity in the studio.

In reply to a question about how the referendum results will be counted and interpreted, Shumeyko replies: "I have no doubts whatsoever. The results can only be counted in accordance with the law. The law on referendums stipulates that any question at a referendum is deemed to have been resolved if 50 percent plus one of those who came to the elections vote for it. This law also says that, if a question concerns the Constitution, then there must be 50 percent of the registered voters plus one vote. Since none of the four questions has any connection with the Constitution, just one legal option remains: 50 percent of those who came to the elections plus one vote.

"What the Congress decided has, unfortunately, no legal validity as yet, since only the Supreme Soviet may make amendments to the law. The Supreme Soviet has made no amendments to the law on referendums. Whatever the Constitutional Court says on the subject today, the law remains as it was. No one has changed it yet. A thing is only good in life when it is done in accordance with the law. If you do not like the law, it must be changed. If the law has not been abolished, then you must operate in accordance with the law. I have no other interpretation.

There can be no other," Shumeyko concludes, ending the discussion and the program.

Opposition Criticizes Yeltsin's Approach to Referendum

PM2004154193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 2

[N. Garifullina report: "'Russian Unity' Press Conference: Deputies' Warnings"]

[Text] Having launched a fight with the Constitution, the laws, the Supreme Soviet, and the Congress, Boris Yeltsin has now taken it one step further by saying that he is not obliged to do as the Constitutional Court says. There has also been an announcement that the president has no intention of putting up with the rules for counting votes in the referendum that were approved by the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, he himself will decide his own procedure for summing up the results of the referendum. What is more, the president has announced that on 26 April—that is, shortly before the results are officially summed up and made public—he will sign a package of documents making what he considers to be necessary adjustments to the exercise of power based on the results of the referendum.

"It takes three or four days for our country to sum up results even on a preliminary basis; in that period the votes are counted by means of cables. It takes at least 10 days to officially sum up the results on the basis of the actual documents. Therefore by saying this the president is effectively confirming that the results of the referendum are of absolutely no importance to him. The referendum is merely a political ploy, concealing the true aim of this campaign—that of carrying out a coup d'etat." This was the conclusion drawn by the parliamentary opposition and announced at Thursday's open session of the "Russian Unity" bloc in the House of the Soviets by its Coordinator Vladimir Isakov. The events of the past week have confirmed that the former assessment of the situation was correct—a coup d'etat is being perpetrated in the country. The opposition states that the constitutional organs of power—the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Court—have not as yet succeeded in hampering the pursuit of this dangerous political action.

We have received information from certain diplomatic channels, People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev added to what V. Isakov said, that President Yeltsin was given a clear guarantee in Vancouver that the West would support him in any case, whatever he did with the results of the referendum. Obviously, this latest act by the president is merely an attempt to de facto use some counting method as a cover in order to put a gloss on the Western governments' position.

Nevertheless the opposition is making vigorous preparations for the referendum: Work is well in hand to organize supervision of the actual voting process—a network of observers has been set up within electoral districts in order to prevent the ballot being rigged.

Opposition forces will hold a march in Moscow 23 April. However, the preparations for the referendum are being made under unequal conditions, People's Deputy Genadiy Sayenko noted. The opposition has still not gained access to television and radio and the state mass media, whereas the president appears on all television channels every day and has a very extensive opportunity to campaign on his behalf. Since Boris Yeltsin refused during the presidential election to take part in televised debates with his rivals, the opposition is asking the president for a live meeting on air to give the voters and the entire Russian people undistorted information as to his position, and is requesting that journalists convey this proposal to the president via their publications.

People's Deputy Vladimir Rebrikov drew journalists' attention to press reports that the Moscow Government has adopted a decree on creating a Moscow City People's Volunteer Militia. It will have its own uniform, status, budget, equipment, and even radio station. The authorities intend to supply this subunit with weapons, and operational detachments will be set up under every prefecture. The intention is that the militia will be based on "Afghan veterans" and sportsmen. In this connection, the deputy asked, who is provoking the confrontation when official organs of law and order have today been stripped of a chance of defending citizens inasmuch as their weapons are taken from them when they go out on patrol?

There are reports from other parts of Russia that detachments of fighters are being set up, People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov remarked. In Vologda "a detachment of young entrepreneurs" has been set up. During the Ninth Congress it prepared for various anticonstitutional actions. You can see even from these reports that an extremely acute situation has developed in the country, groups are being formed ready to oppose constitutional organs of power if they adopt constitutional, legal decisions. Such actions will bring about a general destabilization and provoke major civil conflicts.

A Committee for the Defense of the Constitutional System has been set up in connection with the overt and blatant threat of a coup d'etat; it will be organized within local soviets and defend the representative authority.

Trends in Referendum Voting Intentions Examined

PM2004141593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Leonid Sedov of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions: "Awaiting the People's Verdict"]

[Text] The week since the publication of the preliminary forecast of the referendum result (IZVESTIYA No. 67) has not seen any radical changes to the mood of Russian citizens about the coming vote. But there may, nonetheless, be slight fluctuations which will require close attention from politicians.

The desire to participate in the referendum, which had been encouraged by people's direct impressions of the Congress, has waned somewhat. But we can still talk about a relatively high—over 65 percent—level of readiness among inhabitants of Russia to take part in the vote. The decline in activeness has affected both those who had planned to express their confidence in the president and those who were intending to express their lack of confidence—consequently, the correlation between the two (8:5) remains unchanged, as does the fact that Yeltsin will invariably obtain substantially more than 40 percent of the vote of those on the electoral register (and not less than 60 percent of those who turn out).

The vote on the question of an early presidential election will be a mirror image of this situation. The overwhelming majority of those who express their confidence in him will vote against early presidential elections.

At the same time, despite the fact that those polled were less inclined to vote on Question Four—regarding deputies—there is still a very high probability that the people's deputies will get the 50-percent vote required for new elections. It seems as though the Congress is caught fast in the noose that it itself had placed around the president, and that it is trying to get out of it with the help of attempts to present the result of the vote on Question One as being a defeat rather than a victory for him. This would run counter to the Law on the Referendum—which requires a result of 50 percent of the electoral register only when it comes to amending the Constitution—to all world political practice, to common sense, and to the actual correlation of political forces in society.

The latter is graphically demonstrated by the figures from the latest All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions poll (taken 11-13 April, involving 1,606 urban residents in six regions). To a question about which of the Russian authorities those polled trust most, 40 percent said "the president," 3.4 percent said "the government," 6 percent said "the Supreme Soviet," and 40 percent said "nobody." Given these figures, which will be confirmed in the referendum, any talk about the president resigning, when he is essentially the only person with legitimate authority, amounts to an attempt to foment anarchy and destroy altogether any system of running the country. And if people who call themselves "patriots," "statesmen," and "powermongers" [derzhavniki] achieve this, history will in the very near future give them different names which will reflect more accurately the motives for and consequences of their political irresponsibility.

Finally, it seems as though the referendum should debunk the myth put about by the opposition that Russia's population rejects Yeltsin's reform course virtually to a man. Needless to say, more than 50 percent of those entitled to vote will not say "yes" to the government course. But the negative response will not garner more than 40 percent of the electoral register either. So

neither side will have a decisive advantage, and this question can be considered irrelevant [nesostoyatel'nyy]—as, indeed, it has been from the very moment our wise old Congress attendees dreamed it up.

These are just preliminary views based on poll results regarding the most likely outcome of the referendum. We will publish on Saturday—on the eve of the vote—our final forecast, which may be, in particular, a test of our sociological service's accuracy and conscientiousness.

Military & Space Issues

Yeltsin Statement on Elimination of Chemical Arms

LD2004194693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1845 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The Russian president's press service has circulated a statement of Russian President Boris Yeltsin on elimination of chemical arms:

Public of several regions has been recently alarmed over the destruction of chemical arms.

Tens of thousands of tonnes of combat toxic agents were produced and stored in Russia over several decades. The world has changed, same as Russia's position in the world, we do not plan to attack anyone.

It is time to get rid of chemical arms - the past we have inherited. This is not only the opinion of Russia, it is also the common opinion of 138 states, which signed a convention to ban chemical arms this year in Paris.

We must start the elimination of chemical arms, proceeding from requirements of international and national safety; shells and tanks gradually become worthless and they cannot be stored forever. The arms were produced by several plants for many years.

The destruction will be complicated and it will take much time. But it must be started. A state program on elimination of chemical arms is being prepared. The program will be based on the following principles:

1. Unconditional provision of safety of the population's life and health and the environment;
2. Unconditional fulfillment of all requirements on social protection of the population, residing in the zone of influence of enterprises to destruct chemical arms;
3. The use of advanced technologies to minimize the risk and receive in the destruction, when it is possible, precious chemical substances;
4. Minimum toxic agents' transportation on Russian territory.

The destruction of chemical arms will start only after a positive conclusion of the state ecological examination

on the whole program and each specific facility. The examination will involve scientists, specialists, representatives or public, including ecological, organizations, both regional and all-Russian.

I call on the executive power bodies of Udmurtia, Chuvashiya and the Saratov region to actively join the elaboration of the program, establish the priorities and conditions of preparations for the destruction of chemical arms. This participation will help to turn this step, inevitable for Russia, into a powerful lever of social-economic development of many Russian regions and strict observation of guarantees of the population's safety.

A considerable part of money to be allocated on the program will be used for regional health care, mother and child care, housing construction, building of cultural facilities, highways and other engineering infrastructure.

Piles of useless and dangerous chemical arms is a heavy burden of the past. Russia must get rid of it in the interests of its own safety, in the interests of safety of the whole world.

Arms Manufacturers Urge Export Liberalization

MK1704102293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 10

[Alla Glebova report: "Russia Taps New High Technology, Arms Markets. Chief Designers Eager To Recapture Lost Markets"]

[Text] Around 100 chief designers and directors of defense enterprises who gathered at a collegium meeting at the Russian Committee for Defense Industries yesterday stated their intention to engage in independent trade in arms manufactured in excess of state orders. They believe that carrying out this reform offers the only chance to lift the defense industry out of crisis and to retain the competitiveness of Russian arms.

"The system of arms exports should be reformed so that the defense sector will survive," Vadim Usov, director of the Tula Machine-Building Plant, said. The average wage at the plant, which exports some of its production, was only R14,000 last March, and 35 percent of the equipment is obsolete and needs to be replaced. Exports under the system of state orders earn the plant nothing but rubles, and those above such orders garner 12 percent of its hard-currency earnings. This is "scarcely enough to pay wages," Usov said. He also complained of red tape in the military exports establishment: Making use of the services of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry's foreign trade firm requires nine signatures (by the president, the government, the Commission for Military and Technical Cooperation, the Ministries of Defense, Economics, Foreign Affairs, and Security, and also the Foreign Intelligence Service and the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry) and it can take two months or up to 15 months to collect them. "As long as a caste system for arms exports exists at the Foreign

Economic Relations Ministry, all efforts will be an exercise in futility. A janitor at Oboroneksport earns \$20,000 [as published] as a bonus, and a designer on a foreign trip can scarcely scratch up \$15 per diem," according to Aleksey Shulunov, director of the Ple-shakov Association and head of the League for the Support of Defense Enterprises.

Gennadiy Yampolskiy, deputy chairman of the Russian Defense Industry Committee, said that interest in Russian-made arms has visibly increased since the arms show in Abu Dhabi. "Arab and Asian countries are willing to buy from us such arms as air-defense missile systems, volley-fire systems, and submarines—but quickly and in small consignments." In addition, "the buyers are capricious and want us to work with them on an individual basis." Mr. Yampolskiy suggested that simultaneously with the current arms export system through the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry operating under state orders and intergovernment agreements, a system of "direct commercial arms exports" for weapons manufactured above state orders should be set up.

In 1993, state orders for armaments to be exported (\$480 million) accounted for only 10 percent of the defense sector's export capacities. In other words, arms manufacturers have plenty of opportunities to search for trade partners. A system of commercial exports devised by the Russian Defense Industry Committee provides that manufacturers will independently set prices, keep hard-currency earnings, choose between middlemen, and pay them commission fees. The Russian Defense Industry Committee itself is volunteering to handle the selection and licensing of firms to replace the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry. In order to give support to scientific research and enterprises that are not directly involved in arms exports, it is suggested that "an export fund" be set up at the committee on the basis of 10-percent deductions from direct commercial export earnings.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe, however, that the interdepartmental commission for military and technical cooperation, to which proposals for arms export reforms are being sent, will prefer the window-dressing measures proposed by the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry to the plan drawn up by the Russian Defense Industry Committee.

[Article contains the following boxed passage]

Russian Federation

- From 1991 to 1992 arms exports fell by 40 percent;
- Export sales fell from \$6 billion in 1990 to \$1.9 billion in 1992;
- Defense Ministry orders for armaments production dropped more than twofold, and those for scientific research by 40 percent in 1993 compared to the previous year;

— Defense Ministry orders for tanks fell 2.5-fold, for infantry fighting vehicles fourfold, for self-propelled artillery guns twofold, and for aircraft by 40 percent.

Government Plans To Drop Funding for MiG-29M

OW2004124693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Report by S. Tolstoy from the "Utro" program—recorded]

[Text] [Tolstoy] I am sitting in the cockpit of a fighter aircraft known as the MiG-29M. It is quite possible that this is one of the last of these aircraft in the Russian arsenal. This is because there are plans to drop its funding in the near future. If that happens, the lightest fighter we will have will weigh at least 30 tonnes. Here is why:

Any country concerned with the development of its armed forces has both heavy and lightweight fighters in its arsenal. It is true that our lightweight fighters have lagged behind the best foreign fighters of this type. But now, it has been created—the MiG-29M super fighter. You should notice that only the name remains from the well-known MiG-29. In actual fact, this is a fundamentally new machine with combat capabilities that have been enhanced several times over. You should also note that the fighter has almost fully completed its test and design phase. Nevertheless, a sudden order has been issued blocking further development. Why? Could it be that the new machine is really not too promising? [video cuts to show interview with R. Taskayev, senior test pilot of the MiG Experimental Design Bureau]

[Taskayev] Everyone agrees that there is no better aircraft for aerial combat or for a dog fight. This aircraft has a unique weapons control system. Practically no other armaments system of its kind exists in any other aircraft of this type developed abroad.

[Tolstoy] Here is the opinion of a representative from the State Flight Test Center. [video cuts to show interview with Air Force Major General V. Chirkin, chief of flight services of the State Flight Test Center]

[Chirkin] We recommended that the development and testing of the MiG-29M be continued. It is very easy to fly, unlike any other machine. I would simply say that it would be a boon to the pilots. It is very easy to control and, at any rate, safe from stalling. In general, I do not think much of the idea of facing the future with only one type of fighter.

[Tolstoy] Hardly anyone will argue about the need to cut defense spending, but, surely, not to such an unreasonable extent. Apparently, we are once again making a mistake, especially if we are ready to give up a fighter aircraft while foreign buyers are already lining up to procure it.

Lack of Orders Depresses Defense Sector Wages

PM1904140193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Apr 93 p 1

[I. Chernyak report: "Defense Industry Workers Have Nowhere To Go. Poverty Lies Ahead. Military-Industrial Complex Wages Now Lower Than Other Sectors of Industry"]

[Text] "If emergency measures are not taken, most of Russia's military-industrial complex enterprises will find surviving 1993 very difficult," Vladimir Salo, leader of the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy's Defense Complex Economy and Conversion Department, believes.

Illustrating the baleful state of the Russian defense sector, Salo reported that in 1991-1992 it had the lowest wages in industry—in 1992, for instance, people employed in the military-industrial complex earned an average of 4,343 rubles [R]. For comparison purposes—in the gas industry earnings during this period were almost five times higher, and in the coal and fuel and energy industries almost three times higher. Defense industry workers lagged considerably behind other sectors too, including the food industry, light industry, machine building, and metallurgy. And the situation is no different in 1993, despite the fact that the Russian military-industrial complex's products are among the few products we produce that are in demand on the world market and able to withstand competition.

In Salo's opinion, the reason for such low earnings in the defense complex lies primarily in the sharp—68 percent—reduction in appropriations for purchases of military hardware and armaments. The size of wages is part of the purchase price. The second explanation is the limited level of profitability—never more than 25 percent—of military output.

As a result, there are no orders, the defense industry is not profitable, and that is why the rates in it cannot not go beyond the lower level—the four minimum wage rates guaranteed by the state.

Salo reported that the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy has drawn up a program which would make it possible to eliminate the very considerable pay lag endured by military-industrial complex enterprises, and thereby help a number of them to survive. The program envisages both R450 billion in conversion loans as well as subsidies which it is planned to issue on the basis of the depth of conversion and taking account of each enterprise's features. But, according to Vladimir Salo's information, these proposals are by no means supported by everyone—there is opposition in the government, in the presidential council, and among academicians. As he put it, the leadership of the fuel and energy complex is currently making considerable efforts to prevent any outflow of funds to the military-industrial complex and to win subsidies for itself. That is why the

Ministry of the Economy is expecting Viktor Chernomyrdin to attend its collegium session. He will either give the green light to or reject the option proposed by Salo's group. "After doing a titanic amount of work, we even reached mutual understanding with such a market man as Yegor Gaydar. I fear that everything may now have to be started over, but I can see no other solution. If we cannot convince Chernomyrdin that we are right, Russia's defense sector may quite simply be ruined," Vladimir Salo said.

Navy's Need for More Money, Ships Emphasized

PM2004145093 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 4

[Interview with Oleg Yefimov, head of the Russian Defense Industry Committee Main Administration for the Shipbuilding Industry, by correspondent Aleksandr Yegorov; place and date not given: "Oleg Yefimov: Navy's Share of Military Budget Is Inadequate"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] For two years now Russia's shipyards have not started building a single warship. Shipbuilding production capacities are being abruptly retooled to build civilian ships. The fact that customers for this output within the country lack the requisite investment funds is forcing our plants to build a considerable number of ships for foreign clients.

What do industrialists themselves think about this? Our correspondent Aleksandr Yegorov asked Oleg Yefimov, head of the Russian Defense Industry Committee Main Directorate for the Shipbuilding Industry, to answer this question.

[Yefimov] Our country developed a powerful shipbuilding industry capable of building any ships and vessels, including nuclear-powered submarines and heavy aircraft-carrying cruisers. However, the economic crisis that the country is experiencing is having a direct effect on our sector too. Savings are having to be made in all areas, including the Navy. It is merely a question of not overstepping the mark beyond which you have the irreversible degradation of the fleet's ships and the collapse of the industry.

The current state of the Navy, and of shipbuilding in particular, enables us to conclude that we have indeed reached that point. Why?

According to specialists' assessments, defense industry conversion should not exceed a maximum level of 3-4 percent a year. Yet the pace of conversion has today topped 15 percent in the shipbuilding industry. Coupled with the cut in production, this means the loss of advanced technologies and skilled cadres, and the disintegration of labor collectives. Ratification of the long-term shipbuilding program that has been formulated is also being held up, yet the specific nature of shipbuilding is such that the building of modern warships is impossible unless it is planned over a period of 10-15 years.

Today appropriations are being cut not only for shipbuilding, but also for research and development work on naval hardware. Yet in present-day conditions the fleet's effectiveness is mainly determined not by the quantity but by the quality of its ships. Therefore ensuring a steady level of research and development work is an indispensable condition for maintaining the fleet at its present-day level.

I would like to stress that all this is occurring in conditions of our commitments under the START II Treaty, which envisages a dramatic increase in the proportion of naval components within the strategic nuclear forces (to 50 percent). Ensuring that missile-armed submarines can stand up in combat necessitates the creation of a fundamentally new surface fleet, whose task is not to monitor all the oceans of the world but to ensure total supremacy in our naval nuclear forces' area of operations. In order to perform this task the Navy's share of the military budget must rise and reach the level attained by the West and the United States, where it stands at 30-34 percent. This is all the more pressing since, as a result of the policy of developing the USSR Armed Forces, we have inherited imbalances as regards the share of the military budget earmarked for the organizational development of the Navy compared with other branches of the Armed Forces.

I would like to remark in conclusion that the present-day fleet is an extremely complex system that has been developed gradually and relatively slowly. It will not tolerate an up-and-down, on-and-off approach in its development, and requires constant care and attention.

Security Ministry Opposes Single Investigation Committee

MK2004102693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 2

[Oleg Rubnikovich report under the rubric "Special Services": Russian Federation Security Ministry Against Merger of Investigation Committees"]

[Text] Speaking at a news briefing in the Ministry of Security on 19 April, Aleksandr Dukhanin, deputy chief of the Investigation Committee, spoke out against the creation of a single investigation committee which, according to him, would result in severing the link between operational-detective activities and the work of investigators.

Proponents of the independent committee, which would not be subordinate to any agency, see the main objective as ensuring that investigators have an even work load and ensuring that they are not subordinated to any other agency.

According to Aleksandr Dukhanin, the number of investigators in the Russian Federation Ministry of Security today is a tenth of the number in the Prosecutor's Office, and one-fortieth of that in the Ministry of Internal

Affairs. Security Ministry investigators' workload has increased seven-fold of late, exceeding all permissible norms.

During the first three months of 1993, several dozen Russian Federation Ministry of Security investigators recovered valuables worth 355 million rubles [R], five tons of medicine worth R500 million, more than five tons of ammunition, and so forth.

According to Security Ministry spokesmen, if a unified investigation committee is created, the investigators' task would be reduced to a minimum: to prove whether or not a given individual is guilty. The severed link between operational detectives and investigators would eliminate most of the cases not only in the Security Ministry, but also in the Prosecutor's Office and in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Another counterargument advanced by the Security Ministry is the high level of corruption in the Ministry of Internal Affairs itself, which would inevitably ruin more than one case should there be a merger of the investigative bodies.

A. Dukhanin sees cutting down on investigation time as the only positive aspect of the measure. That, however, could be achieved by reducing the depth of investigative procedures.

According to information available in the Security Ministry, there are no independent investigation committees anywhere else in the world with the exception of India. All the interested agencies—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Justice—are now speaking out against the merger.

While a repeat hearing of a Russian Federation draft law "On the Investigation Committee of the Russian Federation" is to take place in parliament on 10 May, employees of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security fear that the deputies, with a poor understanding of the ramifications, may eagerly pass the law.

Molnia-3 Satellite Launched From Plesetsk

LD2104070193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0658 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—A Molnia-3 communications satellite was launched atop a Molnia booster rocket from Plesetsk Cosmodrome by the Russian Defence Ministry's Space Defence Forces at 04.23 on Wednesday [21 April], a spokesman at the Press Centre of the Space Defence Forces told ITAR-TASS.

Media Issues

Press Ministry Demands Ban of Nationalist Paper

LD2004171093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1521 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The Russian Ministry for Information and the Press made the following statement today:

"The Dzerzhinskiy District Court of Moscow is now considering a case filed by the Russian Ministry for Information and the Press against the newspaper 'DEN'" demanding an end to the activities of this medium.

From the time of the filing of the suit and right up to the present time the newspaper "DEN" has continued to violate acting legislation, in particular Article 4 of the Russian law "on the mass media". Through its publications the newspaper discredits government officials, and specific utterances of this newspaper may be considered as collectively fabricated hooligan attacks.

The Russian Ministry for Information and the Press has appealed to the court to make a decision on stopping the publication of the newspaper "DEN" until the issue has been examined on its merits."

General Prosecutor on Referendum, Suit Against DEN

MK2004112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with Russian General Prosecutor V.G. Stepankov by Aleksandr Nadzharov (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA—ITAR-TASS), published in the "Law" column; place and date not given: "How To Count Votes in the Referendum. General Prosecutor Considers Congress Decision a Violation of Law"]

[Text] [Nadzharov] Valentin Georgiyevich, recent events—the deputies' congress, the upcoming referendum—force the first question to be put bluntly: Are you for Yeltsin or for Khasbulatov?

[Stepankov] I am for the law. And let there be no doubts: The prosecutor's office simply may not uphold the political views of one side or another. It is good, of course, when the interests of the law and of politics coincide. Then calm and well-being reign supreme in society. If not, then the law must receive priority.

[Nadzharov] But the law will be violated, if the votes cast in the referendum are counted according to the procedure stipulated by the decree of the deputies congress. Under it the president will win only if he polls more than half the votes of all the registered voters. Including those who have stayed at home and stayed away from the polls.

[Stepankov] This question comes under the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court.

[Nadzharov] And what is your opinion, the opinion of an eminent lawyer and member of the Supreme Soviet?

[Stepankov] I think that you are right: The congress has acted improperly with respect to the current Law on Referendum. By adopting this decision the congress, in my opinion, has come into conflict with the present laws.

[Nadzharov] Presumably the deputies who adopted the decree that contradicts the law were betrayed by their understanding of the current political situation. Did not the same thing happen when the legislators introduced in the press, radio, and TV a kind of censorship committee—supervisory councils? Incidentally, did the general prosecutor himself vote on this question?

[Stepankov] I voted against, since I thought that this matter could not be resolved in one fell swoop. After all, the law on the mass media was discussed for a long time before being adopted. To put it bluntly, it does not quite satisfy me, just as it presumably does not satisfy many journalists. But it is there, and if any changes are to be made, they must be made only after serious consideration. And the main thing here is not censorship of materials but the opportunity for all political forces to have access to the electronic media and to the press. Unfortunately the opinions of some people's deputies, who were armed with a legally substantiated analysis of the situation, were not heeded.

[Nadzharov] It is a rare issue of the so-called patriotic publications, especially DEN, that does not foment hatred. Does the prosecutor's office not see this?

[Stepankov] Here, I think, we should be talking not only about DEN alone. The point is this. When the polarization of political forces becomes too obvious, radicals on either side would like to back up their steps by punitive measures. Political struggle in this country is still associated with the attempt to pressure one's political opponent by force, for which purpose attempts are being made to use the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Ministry of Security, and the court. But they may not and will not punish for dissent. Our duty is to intervene (as so we do) only when we see the formal elements of a crime: an appeal for the forcible overthrow of the authorities, fomenting ethnic discord, and so forth. Incidentally, we have initiated criminal proceedings against the newspapers RUSSKOYE VOSKRESENIE, NARODNOYE DELO, PULS TUSHINA, and some others. A number of cases have been referred to the court, and those guilty have been punished. As for DEN, it has already received warnings, and a suit for its closure is already in court. By the way, there is another question involved here, but it should be addressed not to me but to the Ministry of the Press and Information. The prosecutor's office will not—and it cannot—read everything that is being written there. There are corresponding structures in the Information Ministry that under the law are obliged to appraise the situation.

[Nadzharov] One final question. Now that the "State Committee for the State of Emergency" trial has at last begun, the defendants' lawyers are demanding that state prosecutors be replaced on the grounds that after they had read your and Yevgeniy Lisov's book about the August 1991 events, their opinions were biased. Do you not think that this book was premature or erroneous?

[Stepankov] There is no violation of the law in the fact of our publication. I believe that we do have a moral right to tell of what we are accusing these people, without revealing investigation secrets. Especially after the presentation of the indictment and the end of the investigation. Otherwise the public could learn the "truth" only from the numerous interviews with Kryuchkov, Lukyanov, and the other defendants. Supporters of the State Committee for the State of Emergency members are attacking the book because they are really afraid of what it says. They still hope, even now, to escape punishment under some pretext or other. We are innocent before the people and before our consciences. Therefore we do not repent.

News Conference on Parliamentary Mass Media Committee

LD2004175393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Chairman of the Parliamentary Mass Media Committee Vladimir Lisin, who addressed a press conference here today, described as unsatisfactory the committee's work and expressed dissatisfaction with its relations with public organizations and mass movements. He is also displeased with the committee's work to probe public opinion in the country.

Lisin said that the committee had stopped to fulfil its main law-making function. It is being turned into a political club. Lisin complained that "there is not a single diplomed jurist on the committee who could take part as a professional in the elaboration of laws, could properly assess them". Asked about the possibility of the committee being reformed, he said that he was not prepared to draw final conclusions, but "this is apparently quite warranted".

Lisin on 'Monitoring Council'

LD2104023393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Video report by correspondent G. Fadeyeva; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today, Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the Media, gathered journalists again to discuss a draft on setting up a council to monitor

state television and radio broadcasting. He is not very pleased with the progress in this work.

[Begin Lisin recording] We are trying to move from political gatherings to legislative work. We need a law on state television. We need very serious laws on advertising. [end recording]

Strangely enough, Vladimir Lisin called this draft law plagiarism. It turns out that a similar bill was adopted by the first Congress of Russian Soviets but, you will agree, in a somewhat different political situation.

[Begin Lisin recording] On the whole, four state television channels—television stations—are too many for Russia. This is my belief. [end recording]

It looks as if it is more difficult to monitor all four at once. The monitoring council, about which we are speaking, is being formed by a method of delegating one person from every parliamentary faction, as is done in Finland. So far no-one knows whether it is good or bad for Russia.

One more thing: there is an addition to all the king's men. Now, like the president, the speaker has not only a secretary, but also a head of the press service. His name is Yuriy Morishchenkov.

Supreme Soviet

Congress of People's Deputies To Convene 26 Apr

LD2104080893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] The next Russian Congress of People's Deputies will be convened on 26 April. The Russian parliament passed this information yesterday to the apparatus of the Moscow Oblast Soviet.

Supreme Soviet Denies Report

LD2104105893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] Earlier this morning, Mayak Radio carried an RIA report that the Congress of People's Deputies would be convened on 26 April. In the report, the agency quoted sources at the Russian Supreme Soviet. We have just telephoned the Supreme Soviet press center, where the information was not confirmed. The press center stressed that it is technically impossible to convene the Congress at such short notice.

Press Service Denies Referendum Sabotage Accusations

LD2004220993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] The Supreme Soviet's press service today refuted facts contained in an article in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA about parliamentary Deputy Chairmen Yuriy

Voronin and Nikolay Ryabov holding a telephone hook-up conference with leaders of the local soviets [councils] on 16 April about the forthcoming referendum. According to data from the democratic forces' public committee, Yuriy Voronin repeatedly stressed at the session that the main task during the preparations for and the convocation of the referendum would be to prevent observers from the democratic forces from gaining access to polling stations. The Supreme Soviet's press service stated officially that the above report was malicious disinformation. Regarding the telephone conference, the press service explained that this was held on 16 April by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairmen Valentin Agafonov and Nikolay Ryabov and the topic under discussion was the local soviets' participation in organizing spring agricultural work. Issues concerning preparations for the referendum were also touched upon, but only within the context of the strictest observance of appropriate legislative norms and the prevention of possible provocations.

'Radio Conference' With Local Leaders on Referendum

PM2004145993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Parliamentary observer Aleksandr Linkov report under the "Conferences" rubric: "Put Things To Good Use, Rather Than Bad"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet leadership held an all-Russian radio conference with the chairmen of soviets of people's deputies of all levels yesterday. Progress in preparations to hold the April referendum was discussed. The conference was chaired by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman V. Agafonov.

Opening the conference, he informed all participants of the well-founded alarm expressed in numerous letters and telegrams sent to parliament. People are seriously concerned about recent events, and they are expressing alarm over the fate of the representative power.

A frenzied campaign to eliminate the soviets has been unleashed. Economic reform is being used as a weapon in the political struggle. Efforts are made to pin the blame for mistakes committed by the Russian president and his entourage on the conservatism of the Congress of People's Deputies.

But the Congress is only guilty of not having said a more resolute "no" to the chosen policy which has brought the country to its present state. Now the deputies have been left as the sole barrier preventing the final leap into anarchy and chaos.

V. Agafonov noted that the closer the referendum, the greater the inflammation of passions in society. Electronic media are wholly controlled by the executive—other viewpoints are virtually ignored. Literally the day before, Presidential Administration Leader S. Filatov

sent administration heads instructions to prepare additional questionnaires on the draft of the new Constitution. Even though nobody has yet seen its text.

In this situation, soviet leaders and deputies are required to demonstrate utmost cohesion and organization. To do everything necessary to ensure that the referendum is held in a calm atmosphere, in compliance with the Constitution and laws currently in force.

In his speech, Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman N. Ryabov dwelled on questions of rigorously complying with the laws when preparing for and holding the referendum. In particular, it was indicated that many officials of all ranks have started campaigning. They appear on television screens and speak on the radio, but this is the grossest of violations. By law it is not permitted to do such things. Of course, nobody is forbidden to get involved in such matters, provided he does so not in an official capacity but as an ordinary citizen and in his free time.

Central [Electoral] Commission Chairman V. Kazakov briefed the conference participants on material and organizational measures, and answered questions of interest.

The exchange of views during the radio conference showed that much has already been done at local level to hold the referendum. The remaining days will be devoted to more thorough preparation and the creation of conditions for Russians to freely express their will. No doubt many questions on the referendum will be raised also at next week's conference of leaders of representative organs, which will take place in Voronezh.

Opposition Discusses Referendum Strategy, Tactics

LD1904161193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] The opposition is discussing its strategy and tactics for the referendum. POSTFACTUM has learned that a conference of the Committee for Defense of the Constitution and Constitutional System is taking place today in the parliamentary center of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The aim is to unite all political opposition movements and plan strategy and tactics for before and after the referendum. Opposition forecasts suggest that the situation after the referendum will inevitably become more acute, no matter what the result of the referendum is. There will be a procession and rally of the opposition forces in Moscow on 23 April.

Adamshin Addresses Deputies on CIS Charter

PM2104085593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Apr 93 p 2

["Own information" report: "Russian Supreme Soviet Has Ratified CIS Charter"]

[Text] At a joint session of the chambers, by a majority of deputies' votes the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet ratified the CIS Charter adopted in Minsk 22 January by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

This document, said Anatoliy Adamshin, Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister, who on instructions from the president presented the charter to the parliamentarians, "accords with Russia's national-state interests." Anatoliy Adamshin said that the charter "is one more proof that the CIS is advancing not toward a civilized divorce, as some people predicted when it was created, but toward civilized work." The charter contains firmer guarantees of human freedoms and rights. "For us this factor is of exceptional importance since about 25 million of our compatriots are living outside Russia," the diplomat stressed.

Official Views Abolition of Presidency

LD1904140993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1340 GMT 19 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Vladimir Podoprigrora, chairman of the Russian Parliament Committee on Inter-Republican Relations, Regional Policy and Cooperation, does not preclude a chance that the Congress of People's Deputies (supreme legislature) can abolish the institute of presidency in Russia if Boris Yeltsin does not receive the required support from voters at the referendum.

Some forces can work on the "Mordovan version", he continued. If it becomes a reality, the Supreme Soviet (standing legislature) and its leadership will stand at the country's helm. The country will return to a system which ruled almost for 75 years," he stressed in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

However, Podoprigrora said, "the version played in Mordovia is very radical. Besides, it has a serious legal obstacle difficult to circumvent, since the institute of presidency was introduced in the Russian Federation as a result of a referendum".

Therefore, the presidency can be abolished only by the same way—through a nationwide referendum, Podoprigrora underlined.

"At the same time," he noted, "the latest developments in our life show that some people do not always follow legal logic and take sometimes decisions based on political expediency."

This point is strikingly confirmed by an illegal decision taken by the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, under which the counting of votes on the referendum's results should be made according to the lists of all registered

voters but not according to the number of voters who went to the polls, as the law on referendum says.

"If ballots are counted according to a decision taken by the congress, the situation will end in a deadlock, and the referendum will not yield anything: not a single question of the four proposed to the electorate will collect the required majority," Podoprigora concluded.

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov Continues Working Visit to Voronezh

Addresses Parliamentarians

LD2004151393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] There is little doubt that Yeltsin's proposed visit to Udmurtia is part of his attempts to get the support of Federation citizens. The legislature, meanwhile, is not standing idly by. A seminar of leaders of the Russian Federation Soviet of People's Deputies' started in Voronezh on the morning of 20 April. Our correspondent Eduard Gendeleyev has details.

[Gendeleyev] The seminar is devoted to the forthcoming referendum; all the speeches, therefore, are linked to this issue. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet, sharply criticized the president of the Russian Federation and his associates. Khasbulatov's deputy, Valentin Agafonov, suggested that authorized representatives of the Soviets of People's Deputies be sent to the polling stations to make sure that the referendum is conducted correctly. Valentin Agafonov also thinks that the same representatives of the soviets should be sent round the homes of voters as canvassers.

Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, reported to those present on the preparations for the referendum. He noted that soldiers of the Russian Army abroad are not entitled to vote in the referendum. But if a Russian officer goes to the Russian embassy or consulate in a particular country, then he will have to be given the opportunity to vote. Vasiliy Kazakov also pointed out that citizens of the Chechen Republic have the possibility of participating in the referendum in Stavropol kray - since the Chechen authorities have received money from Moscow for holding the referendum, but not intending to hold it.

Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov said that operational groups made up of Procuracy staff have been set up and are working in Moscow to gather data on any infringements in preparations for the referendum. He said that extra referendum ballot papers have been discovered in Maritime kray.

Views Possible Referendum Results

LD2004152793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Yeltsin's main opponent, parliament head Khasbulatov, is clearly upping the stakes in the political struggle and not mincing his words. According to a report by INTERFAX agency, he voiced the view in Voronezh today that the president and government are under the control of criminal elements.

[Correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev] A routine meeting of chairmen of republican, kray, and oblast soviets of people's deputies of Russia has been held in Voronezh. On the eve of the Russian referendum the main topic under discussion was quite naturally the forthcoming vote. During his tour of Voronezh Oblast, and at meetings at the local machine-building works, the "Maslovskiy" state food farm, and at a seminar at the oblast soviet, the parliamentary speaker tried to affect the outcome of the nationwide poll.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] As a politician, what do you think will be the outcome?

[Khasbulatov] Well, there are three possible results. Come on, let's not be so unequivocal. In the first instance, as a result of the pressure, wheeling and dealing and all these endless intrigues, the president could obtain an absolute majority—in other words, what the Congress established, namely an absolute majority. Then everyone will have to understand that the president must have and has the right to carry out his socio-economic course.

The second possibility is that the president will win a relative majority, that is the majority of those who turn out.

And the third possibility is that the president does not gain support, in which case he will have to resign. [end recording]

Says Yeltsin Resignation 'Best' Option

LD2004163193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1510 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Excerpt] Voronezh, 20 April—Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, described "the option according to which the president will not get public support and will have to resign" as "the best one." Forecasting the results of the forthcoming referendum in his closing remarks at the conference of leaders of Russian soviets of people's deputies in Voronezh, he said: "He who calls himself the greatest reformer is the greatest obstacle in the path of true reforms." After sharply criticizing the actions of the executive power which, in his words, has launched "a fierce attack against

the population," he rejected the accusations voiced by his opponents that the corps of deputies is "a concentration of conservative forces". [passage omitted]

Addresses Seminar, Visits Farm

PM2104091093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Yevgeniy Pisarev: "Who Will Defend Constitution"]

[Text] Voronezh—Yesterday, 20 April, a seminar-conference of leaders of the Russian Federation soviets of people's deputies ended in Voronezh. Taking part was Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The day before, as ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has already reported, the parliament chairman visited the Voronezh mechanical plant where he met with leaders of the city's industrial enterprises and with the plant's labor collective.

The Voronezh mechanical plant is one of the oblast's largest defense enterprise and is transferring, albeit with difficulty, to the production of civilian output, and in particular it has set up the production of equipment for the oil and gas extraction industry. Thanks to this the plant has succeeded in fully retaining jobs and ensuring a 100 percent production load. But the protracted economic crisis and the aggravated political situation in the country are depriving workers of faith in the future.

The situation in the defense industry was touched on in his speech by pilot-cosmonaut V. Sevastyanov. The government, he said, has no conversion program, and as a result high-technology production is being curtailed. That is why control over the government's actions by the Supreme Soviet and the search for a real program for a way out of the crisis are needed.

R. Khasbulatov, who spoke at the session, noted that now is not the time endlessly to deceive the people's hopes, to place deputies under conditions of information terror. At the same time the parliament chairman noted that the committees for the defense of the Constitution which are being created in the regions attest that the people regard the Constitution as the sole reliable guarantee of political stability.

R. Khasbulatov's trip to the "Maslovskiy" state pedigree stock farm began with a visit to the home of one of the enterprise's workers and talks with local inhabitants.

The "Maslovskiy" pedigree stock farm is a multisectorial farm and not only produces meat and milk but also processes them. Modern shops for the production of excellent cheeses and cooked sausage operate on the farm. If all state agricultural enterprises had indicators like the "Maslovskiy" farm then there would be no need for agrarian reform.

But how is life for hundreds of others? It is hard. At a meeting with R. Khasbulatov the rural inhabitants spoke of the destruction of the countryside as such, of the disruption of parity of prices for agricultural output. One speaker cited the following example: A can for milk now costs 13,000 rubles. A liter of milk costs 26 rubles. Half a tonne of milk for an empty can! A truly Shakespearean exchange: Half a kingdom for a horse!

Answering questions from the "Maslovskiy" state pedigree stock farm's workers about the forthcoming referendum and the president's actions, R. Khasbulatov emphasized the fact that the president "is cramped within the framework of the Constitution" although it is the Constitution which should be the master in the country.

We must defend the Constitution and legality—that was how R. Khasbulatov defined the tasks of representative power when he opened the seminar-conference of leaders of soviets of people's deputies. Then V. Agafonov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, delivered a report.

Views Chechen Situation

LD2004155393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Voronezh April 20 TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is now in Voronezh to attend a conference of heads of local governing councils, evaluated the situation in the Chechen Republic. In an ITAR-TASS interview, he maintained that "both the latest developments in the republic and the Dudayev regime are related with federal officials, otherwise this regime would have long since fallen."

According to Khasbulatov, "everything that takes place at the federal level, is at first tested by Dudayev in Chechnya and is then launched at the Russian level."

When the people of Chechnya "begin to revolt against the general's regime, the centre stages a new act of provocation that strengthens Dudayev's supporters." Separatism is being whipped up "to divert attention from one's own inaction and inability to govern," the speaker stated.

Information Ministry Rejects Khasbulatov's Demand

LD2004202293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1904 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The Russian Information and Press Ministry rejected the demand that the head of the Voronezh Television and Radio Broadcasting Company be replaced, which was made at a conference of regional governing councils today.

Voronezh Regional Council Chief Ivan Shabanov, accusing government structures of "flagrant breaches of the law", cited by way of an example the sacking of Voronezh Television and Radio Broadcasting Company Chairman Vitaliy Zhikharev, an ITAR-TASS correspondent reported from Voronezh.

According to Shabanov, the court recognised these actions by former minister Mikhail Poltoranin as unlawful but Zhikharev was not re-instated in his post. Ruslan Khasbulatov remarked: "Let's make it that Zhikharev takes his office again before the day is out."

In this regard, the Information and Press Ministry sent a statement to ITAR-TASS explaining that the Voronezh State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company was founded by the Russian Information and Press Ministry and the Voronezh regional administration on February 24, 1992. Under Article 22 of the Russian Federation Law "On Mass Media", relations between the co-founders of news organisations are defined by the founding treaty.

The treaty to found the Voronezh State TV and Radio Company says "the company is administered by its chairman who is appointed to his post and relieved of his duties by the Russian Information and Press Ministry in accordance with a representation by the Voronezh regional administration chief."

It follows from the aforesaid that the procedure for appointing and sacking the chairman of the Voronezh TV and Radio Company is defined by the founding document. Therefore, the issue of replacing the head of this company can be considered only within the framework of the procedure established by the founding treaty.

Chechen Parliament Continues Working Despite Ban

LD2004141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1359 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS - The situation in the Chechen Republic remains alarming. Huge rallies take place in Grozny, the CHECHENPRESS news agency reports. The opposition demands that the present leadership of the republic resign immediately.

Volunteers began signing up for the National Guard at a rally in support of the president on Svoboda (Freedom) Square. However, calls for the quest for ways to reach accord to stave off bloodshed are heard at both rallies.

As a curfew was declared in Chechnya, Salman Khasimikov, head of the National Security Service, was appointed by Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev's decree as the commandant of the republic. The curfew was imposed from 24:00 to 5:00.

Although the president decreed to suspend parliament, the supreme legislative government body keeps working. Chechen Constitutional Court chairman Ikhvan Gerikhanov, speaking in parliament, proposed that deputies

call within ten days new elections approximately in June and suspend the lawmaking activity over this period of time.

The Chechen president was proposed ensuring the protection of the citizens' rights and the sovereignty of the Chechen Republic and hold a referendum on the form of government in the state.

Gerikhanov also said the constitutional court called upon the republic's citizens for calmness and mutual accord.

Dudayev Calls Events Part of Russian 'Political Scenario'

LD2004234793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2250 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Apr—The situation in Grozny (the capital of the Chechen Republic) is very tense, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by telephone from that town in North Caucasus. Large rallies of the opponents and supporters of Dzhokhar Dudayev, republican president, are continuing. Late on Tuesday, Dudayev addressed republican citizens on local television. The events in Chechnya are part of a major political scenario that is being acted on Russian territory, Dudayev said. He accused the leadership of the Chechen Interior Ministry of inability to take actions to prevent possible bloodshed.

"If I have to lay down my powers tomorrow, I will obey. I will be a happy man who has heeded the will of the people," President Dudayev said.

Dudayev Advocates Early Presidential Elections

LD2104055893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] The situation remains alarming in Chechnya. Massive rallies are reported in Grozny, with many protesters carrying arms. However, pro-consensus voices are heard at the rallies, urging the prevention of bloodshed. Late Tuesday evening, Dzhokhar Dudayev addressed the citizens of the republic, stating that—in keeping with the law—he would have to determine the date for presidential elections himself if the parliament failed to define the timetable for early presidential election, not later than the end of September or early October 1993.

Civil Disobedience Campaign Continues in Chechnya

LD2004140693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] And now we turn to the political crisis in the Chechen Republic. It is rather difficult to find out details of developments there, because rallies by the president's opponents and supporters are going on in Grozny, and the mass media are still under Dudayev's control. All the telephone lines with which we tried to contact the Chechen capital are silent.

Judging from the information from newspapers and news agencies, enterprises and institutions in Grozny could join the campaign of civil disobedience toward the president. Trade union activists intend to call a meeting of the republic's trade unionists.

As for the president's staff, they have announced that they will convoke a congress of the Chechen people. The confrontation between the president and parliament has reached such proportions that armed clashes are possible, although both sides say they do not want to drive the republic to civil war.

Opposition Says Chechen Army Might Turn Against Dudayev

LD2004225593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2038 GMT 20 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Confrontation between the parliament and the president continues in Chechnya. Dudayev's supporters are holding meetings in front of the parliament building in Grozny, and his enemies are doing the same at Theater Square. According to the NEGA agency, their numbers are approximately even—between two and five thousand people. In the opinion of observers, there is only one reason for this situation: After his unsuccessful attempt to reach an agreement with the parliament and the opposition on the new constitution Dzhokhar Dudayev has introduced direct presidential rule and dismissed the parliament. The opposition and the parliament have seen this as an attempt at a coup d'etat. Chechnya's constitutional court has issued an appeal to the citizens of the republic to keep calm. In the opinion of the chairman of the parliament Khusayn Akhmadov, both the formal and practical sides of the procedure for the president's impeachment have already been started. According to the POSTFACTUM agency's report, the curfew introduced by the president is not being observed by either conflicting side. The Chechen armed forces, it seems, do not intend to take part in the political conflict between the president and the parliament. However, according to opposition leaders—and this information was confirmed by various sources—the Chechen army may support the opposition should there be an armed confrontation. The situation is being exacerbated by the fact that, according to certain sources, the presidential guard's special services have already made an attempt to arrest head of the General Staff of the Chechen Armed Forces Viskhan Shakhbav, but were repelled.

Grachev Completes Pacific Tour, Departs for Khabarovsk

LD2104085493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0714 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Popov]

[Text] Vladivostok April 21 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev ended his visit to the Pacific Fleet and left for Khabarovsk today. During his one-day visit, the minister visited the island of Russkiy, and the big anti-submarine ship Admiral Vinogradov which recently returned from the Persian Gulf. The minister heard a report of the Pacific Fleet commander, Georgiy Gurinov, about combat training in the fleet and met garrison officers in the naval officers' house.

Upon arrival in Khabarovsk, Army General Pavel Grachev said "there is no question about taking sides for the Army. The Army has always been and remains with the people". The defence minister was speaking at a meeting with the personnel of the 270th Motor Rifle Division of the Far Eastern Military District.

"The Armed Forces do not support any of the political parties, they are outside politics and are doing their main duty by preparing to defend Russia against foreign aggression", he said.

"I believe that this policy pursued by us will be given a clear expression at the April 25 referendum", General Grachev said. He told the servicemen about the Russian Government's resolution to increase pay to officers and warrant officers 1.9 times and the pay for military rank three-fold from April 1. The same resolution of the government increases the money upkeep of soldiers serving with the Army on a contract basis.

Pavel Grachev said Russian President Boris Yeltsin was planning to hold a conference in July to discuss problems relating to the provision of housing to servicemen. The heads of administration, the commanders of military districts, fleets, formations and armies of the Russian Armed Forces will take part in the conference.

Chernomyrdin Urges Stavropol Citizens To Turn Out for Referendum

PM2004131193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Rybakov report: "Meetings: Viktor Chernomyrdin Has Urged the People of Stavropol To Turn Out at the Referendum"]

[Text] "So, will you turn out for the referendum?" the prime minister asked people who had gathered around him near a kolkhoz canteen. They hesitated. A Cossack woman, a little braver than the rest, spoke up.

"I am for Yeltsin and I urge everybody to support him."

Another said: "What exactly is a referendum? I don't get it. What's it for?"

Viktor Stepanovich replied: "You must understand that I am not trying to influence you, but certain politicians would derive great advantage from your not going to the polling stations. I am in favor of letting the people have their say—the choice is a matter for each person's conscience."

An elderly woman piped up: "What are we supposed to do—you only have to turn on the television to see Yeltsin and Khasbulatov all but brawling with each other. You cannot fathom who is right and who is guilty. Who should we support?"

"Support the government," the prime minister replied. "I personally intend to answer 'yes' to all of the questions. Today's government does not lurch from side to side. It is not a debating club, and it will strive to work both with the 'reds' and the 'whites'... Provided it is for the good of the cause. We will continue reforms without haste, and with due account of amendments, and of your opinions."

Tells Stavropol Farmers No More Subsidies

PM2104100793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Gritchin report: "Chernomyrdin's Trip to Krasnodar and Stavropol Ends"]

[Text] Stavropol—Paying his first visit to Stavropol Kray, Russian Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin visited a number of agricultural enterprises and summed up the results of the trip at a meeting in the kray center.

The farming community virtually gave the government an ultimatum—if meat prices are not increased to 800 rubles a kilo farms will sharply cut livestock numbers.

The prime minister reacted to this calmly, firmly, and entirely diplomatically. Contrary to the hopes of many of those present, Chernomyrdin did not distance himself from the leader of the previous Cabinet of Ministers. Moreover, he stressed that the reform course that is being implemented was not conceived by Gaydar—it is an objective necessity. The current government will continue this course while taking account of amendments that reflect the interests of regions, enterprises....

The prime minister dashed hopes of a gold mine in the shape of subsidies, investment, and loans. In his assessment, if the government were to carry out what it had already promised to agriculture in previous years, it would account for this year's entire Russian budget.

Mordovia Restores Supreme Executive Power

LD2004225193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1746 GMT 20 Apr 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Papeta]

[Text] Saransk, 20 April—Mordovia has completed the process of restoring the supreme executive power which had existed before December 1991 when it was replaced by the institution of the presidency.

Building on the decisions of the republican parliament which abolished the post of Mordovian president in early April, the session approved today the structure and composition of the Council of Ministers—the Mordovian government. They were presented to the deputies by Valeriy Shvetsov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who was appointed to the post 10 days ago. Also, a decision was adopted on the resignation of the previous government headed by President Vasilii Guslyannikov.

The new structure largely follows the previous one. There are substantial "corrections," though. For instance, there is no ministry of foreign economic relations in Mordovia any more. Only four of 12 ministers are new people; the others, including "power" ones—security and internal affairs—come from the previous composition. Five state committees have been formed, and three deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers have been approved. Fedor Tyurkin has become first deputy chairman; he held an economic post until recently.

According to observers and journalists, the parliament session has stuck to the end to the policy of ignoring the Russian president's decree according to which Vasilii Guslyannikov had to continue in his post of president of Mordovia. It is noteworthy that during the whole day, in their debates and speeches deputies did not mention that important document even once.

At the same time, many people's deputies understand the complex nature of the situation. After all, confrontation between the parliament and the republican president has not been resolved. For instance, Anatoliy Soldatov, a trade union figure, believes that direct presidential rule is very likely to be introduced in Mordovia, provided that Boris Yeltsin is supported by the people at the referendum. Such an option, and as soon as next week, is not ruled out by other Mordovian members of parliament, including those who voted for abolishing the post of republican president.

The republic therefore has special interest in the forthcoming all-Russian referendum, and the anticipation of it makes up a fragile shell enclosing the current "Mordovian dual power." Neither President Guslyannikov nor the parliament seem keen on aggravating the situation; the former continues to work and merely refrains from making any statements.

The same tactic is also spreading to the provinces. According to the Interior Ministry, calm and order are being maintained in the republic, enterprises and institutions are working normally, and there are no demonstrations or rallies.

Referendum in Khabarovsk Kray To Begin 21 Apr
*OW2004121593 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk
Network in Russian 0845 GMT 20 Apr 93*

[From the "Kray News" program]

[Text] The all-Russia referendum in almost inaccessible places of the kray will begin on 21 April, ahead of the scheduled time. This is within the framework of the law. The first to express their attitude to the referendum questions will be fishermen, reindeer breeders, and seamen who will be far from populated places on 25 April. This was announced at the regular meeting of the Commission for the Preparation and Conduct of the Referendum by Irina Ivanovna Strelkova, deputy chairman of the Commission, and deputy head of the kray administration.

She said that to date, 1,031 electoral districts have been formed in the kray, meetings with city and rayon electoral commission chairmen had been held, and that all documentation has been prepared and sent to their respective locations. Financing of the referendum has been carried out on time, though practically all rayons and cities consider that the allocated means are insufficient to ensure contact between populated places and the delivery of referendum documents. The kray administration asserted that all financial issues will be resolved.

Off-Shore Voting in Referendum Begins

*LD2104111593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1043
GMT 21 Apr 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Novikov]

[Text] Murmansk April 21 TASS—The first ballots have been cast in the Russian national referendum scheduled for April 25 on Russia's mainland. The right to be the first was granted to sailors and fishermen with permanent residence on the Kola Peninsula who are currently on high seas away from home.

All on-shore polling stations are ready for the voting on April 25, according to Chairman of the Regional Electoral Committee Yevgeniy Potapov. Helicopters and planes will take ballot boxes to remote areas in the tundra, where deer breeder teams are now working, and back.

Roundup Reports Pre-Referendum Moods

*PM1604110993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16
Apr 93 First Edition p 2*

[Roundup by Georgiy Melikyants based on reports by IZVESTIYA correspondents Boris Bronshteyn, Vladimir But, Anatoliy Yershov, Sergey Zhigalov, Valeriy Mirolevich, Mikhail Ovcharov, Igor Ognev, Yuriy Perepletkin, Arnold Pushkar, and Aleksandr tarasov, and ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Galinskiy: "Ten Days Before Vote"]

[Text] The time left until the 25 April all-Russian referendum is melting away almost faster than the snow which has remained on the fields longer than usual.

When 'Everyone Is for Referendum'

To this day the Smolensk City and Oblast lesser soviets are firmly opposed to a referendum between the representative and executive powers. I have not counted more overt opponents. The soviets and administrations almost everywhere are stressing the lack of marked differences between them: It looks as though there is some kind of pact on this score. In Yaroslavl a council of civil consensus has even been created under the oblast governor which has been joined by various forces—from the "Democratic Russia" movement to the Russian Communist Workers Party.

But if you think about it, the words "everyone for the referendum" contain just as much depth as the loud assertion "everyone for reforms." Thus, in Voronezh, where the governor is a convinced supporter of B. Yeltsin and the oblast soviet chairman is a former oblast committee first secretary and active member of the restored Russian Communist Party, the soviets of all levels support the congress instructions while the administration supports the president. But by virtue as it were of their isolation from the solution of people's urgent problems the soviets have masses of time to criticize executive power and organize political games.

The diametrically opposed positions adopted by those who have declared themselves to be supporters of the referendum are borne out by the touching association of Communists and national-patriots in Tula with the "White Movement" which has joined them. One Tula City soviet deputy whose name our correspondent A. Pushkar asked not to be cited in the hope that he would think better of it, raised a toast "to the indestructible alliance of the white and red movement."

No Time Left for Hesitation

That is why preparation for the referendum is proceeding in various places with different visible results. In Tula, for instance, where in the situation described above even the executive organs are making haste slowly and ward commissions have still not been formed. No one is checking the rolls. Nor can any marked actions be seen in Tyumen. A session of the district commission was scheduled for 16 April here—representatives of all currents are gathering to talk and to activate preparation for the referendum.

Yuriy Luzhkov is optimistic—over 3,200 wards have been formed in the capital, including over 300 so-called closed wards, mainly in hospitals and military units. We hope, the Moscow mayor said, that all ward commissions will be able to have rolls and to set about checking and amplifying them within the set schedule.

Questions and Polls

According to established tradition, sociologists, on the other hand, are very active. There is no shortage of polls at various levels. We shall group them according to three main topics.

Forecast of voting. In Nizhny Novgorod 53 percent of voters will say "yes" to the first question, 44 percent will say "yes" to the second, 31 percent will say "yes" to the third, and 62 percent will say "yes" to the fourth. The question "Do you believe in the success of the privatization which is now being implemented" was also asked. Some 56 percent of those polled answered "no."

Rating of politicians. In Krasnoyarsk, according to the figures of the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion, 35 percent of those polled approved the president's activity as a whole while 27 percent disapproved as a whole. In Vologda Oblast's Vozhegodskiy Rayon 40.7 percent of those polled favored Yeltsin's resignation while 24.1 percent favored Khasbulatov's resignation and 16.7 percent were in favor of both resigning.

Social base of different political forces. In Rostov-na-Donu for instance, they are young people, the intelligentsia, and many workers of the law enforcement organs and, very important for the results, the cossacks. The base of the opponents consists of unskilled workers at large state enterprises and the defense industry, some engineering and technical workers, some low-paid intelligentsia, and some pensioners.

Agitators Set To Work

Many people still remember the young people who toured apartments and shyly asked voters to go to the polls as early as possible. That type of unwilling agitator has disappeared into the past. He has now been replaced by tribunes. At the Tyumen conference of chairmen of rural and settlement soviets, Russian Federation Deputy N. Pavlov was presented with great pomp. The opposition leaders have become frequent visitors to Vologda too. First V. Zhirinovskiy held a meeting here. Then S. Baburin and V. Isakov came calling...

A wide spread, as the saying is now, can also be observed in the mass media these days. In Samara they are trying to demonstrate freedom of speech: On one occasion Romanov, secretary of the communist party oblast committee, and with him Nenashev, a spokesman for the democratic movement, addressed voters on oblast television. The former cited examples of the president's "antipopular policy." The latter called for support for B. Yeltsin.

And in Voronezh they are operating according to the "socialist pluralism" principle: The oblast newspaper KOMMUNA, financed by the oblast soviet, likes to rebuke NEZAVISIMYY KURYER for "excessive independence..."

Moods in the Republics

For many inhabitants of Tatarstan, for instance, the question "do you trust Yeltsin?" is not a question. Yeltsin, they say, is the president of a neighboring state. This position was expressed most graphically in a joint appeal to the peoples of Tatarstan adopted by 11 national parties and movements.

President Mintimer Shaymiyev, for his part, promises to create every condition for a referendum but considers that the republic's inhabitants will treat it in a more than restrained manner.

In Udmurtia many parties and public organizations support B. Yeltsin. The words of a national leader, M. Garatuyev, deserve attention: "We differ with you on the nationalities issue, but here we shall act together. Although Yeltsin's policy does not suit us greatly, the policy of those who could replace him suits us even less."

In Mariy El republic the newspaper RESPUBLIKA has held a poll of citizens—over half those polled are in favor of early elections of the president and the deputies.

Regional Views of Referendum Reported

LD2004103993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0914 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Kemerovo April 20 TASS—With all the shortcomings of local councils as a form of representative power, "their positive role in the periods of political instability in the country is indisputable," Mikhail Kislyuk, governor of the Kemerovo region, told reporters and business people of the region. He said Russia needs a strong president who would be responsible to the people for the destiny of the state. Kislyuk believes that during the preparation for a referendum the opposition is more active than supporters of the democratic reform. But voters yet have time to realize that those who object to change represent the interests of lazy people who insist on the principle of dividing everything up.

Kostroma—In the run-up to the referendum the core of Free Russia Party headed by Aleksandr Rutskoy has no support in the upper reaches of the Volga. The Kostroma branch of the party decided to support the president as the guarantor of stability and order, to speed up the adoption of the new constitution. "Most leaders of large industrial enterprises favour strong executive power headed by president," Viktor Bacherikov, first deputy chief of the administration of the Kostroma region, told ITAR-TASS. Managers say that there are many grounded claims to the Russian president and cabinet. Nevertheless they believe that voters should answer "yes" to the first and main question of the referendum in order to promote the reform.

Kurgan—Never the elections in the Kurgan region have received so close attention of society as the forthcoming

all-Russian referendum is likely to receive. Local organizations of political parties, movements, and associations and work collectives will send their representatives to polling stations. These representatives should have mandates confirming their right to be present at the polling stations and to prevent violations of law in the holding of the referendum, Sergey Surin, chairman of the Kurgan regional commission, told ITAR-TASS. He believes the polling stations in the region which number more than one thousand will be ready by the time of the referendum. The lists of citizens having the right to vote are being completed.

Kirov—36.8 per cent in one thousand people polled said they have confidence in the president. The poll was conducted by the Kirov regional institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 7.9 per cent of the poll expressed confidence in Russia's Congress of People's Deputies, 6.7 in the parliament, 8.8 in the Constitutional Court. 37.4 per cent of the poll answered in the questionnaire that they have confidence in no one. Asked what will help improve the situation in the country, 60.3 per cent of the respondents answered: "state control over prices". Three quarters of the respondents said that "rigid control over the government's activities by the parliament" is needed for the improvement of the situation.

Voronin Asks Local Soviets To Abolish President's Representatives

PM2004134593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Andrey Tarasov report: "Yu. Voronin Presses Soviets Over Abolition of the Institution of President's Representatives"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—Yu. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has sent a message to V. Novikov, chairman of Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies. It conveys, in particular, a request that "measures be adopted to end the activity of the Russian Federation president's representative."

Voronin points out that, in accordance with the Ninth Congress decree of 29 March, the institution of Russian Federation's representatives at local level was abolished. According to the Russian Supreme Soviet decree "On Bringing into Force the Russian Federation Law 'On the Russian Federation Budget for 1993,'" which was adopted 25 March, funds made available as a result of abolishing the institution of president's representatives are to be channeled into local budgets to fund health care.

The first deputy speaker of parliament goes on to stress: "Experience of the practical implementation of the decisions of the Congresses of People's Deputies' exists in many regions of the Russian Federation." As a model and guide to this action he appends to his message the decision of Voronezh Oblast Inner Soviet "On the

Results of the Work of the Ninth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies." Voronezh deputies have adopted a truly curious document. They have proposed that the president's representative "should not engage in political activity in the building of the House of Soviets." The Oblast Administration is instructed "within three days" to bring the building of the House of Soviets in line with the law, removing the sign "Representative of the Russian Federation President."

And so, the exportation of the representative power's battle against the presidential structures from the center to the territories continues. At the same time, some regions, including Krasnoyarsk Kray, have recently managed to avoid confrontation between the organs of power. Yu. Voronin's instruction, however, proposes that the kray soviet should, in effect, join the battle. Time does not wait: The referendum is soon.

We have managed to find out that Yu. Voronin's telegram has been sent to virtually all the regions. Yu. Moskvich, president's representative in Krasnoyarsk Kray, said in conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent:

"The president's representatives, as officials of his apparatus, are subordinate only to him. This piece of paper is quite incomprehensible for me. There is the Federation Treaty, and a law defining the jurisdiction of the kray soviet. Why should questions of a federal level be entrusted to it, questions which it should not and cannot decide for itself? What does it mean, 'adopt measures to end the activity of the president's representative?' Remove us by force? But the militia has a dual subordination—not only to the local, but also to the federal authorities. Maybe this is being done to create a semblance of discontent at local level with the institution of the president's representative, to receive, allegedly from the grassroots, a sign of his unpopularity? Why is the message signed only by Voronin—the Supreme Soviet is a collective organ. The president's 33 representatives have the same deputies' mandate as Yu. Voronin. What sort of message is this—a personal message from Voronin, or something else? It is well known that the Ninth Congress' decrees have been referred to the Constitutional Court. Why is the kray soviet, without waiting for the court's verdict, calling for essentially illegal measures to be undertaken? In short, many questions arise."

As of the filing time of this report to the editorial office, Krasnoyarsk Kray Inner Soviet has not yet got down to examining Yu. Voronin's request.

Shakhray Letter to N. Ossetian Leader Urges Aid to Ingushes

LD1604135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 16 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—In light of the Ingush President Ruslan Aushev's appeal to President Boris

Yeltsin, asking him to help return refugees and displaced families to their homes, Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhrai has sent a letter to Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian parliament, urging him to begin without further delay the practical implementation of the agreement "on measures to comprehensively resolve the problem of refugees and displaced persons on the territory of the Ingush Republic and the North Ossetian republic", signed at Kislovodsk on March 20, 1993.

Shakhrai deems it necessary to ensure the safety of Ingushes returning to the territory of North Ossetia and to give them a chance to carry out spring field jobs. A copy of the letter was addressed to Yuriy Shatalin, head of the provisional administration in the state of emergency zone, and to President Ruslan Aushev, ITAR-TASS was told today by Magomed Archagov, press secretary of the Ingush president.

Shatalin Promises 'No Offensive' in Ossetia-Ingushetia

LD1804210393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Video report by correspondent I. Gugkayeva—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The restoration of some degree of stability in North Ossetia and the narrowing of the area covered by the state of emergency regulations have not settled the aftermath of last year's armed conflict. Apart from anything else, the search for missing persons and the work on the return of hostages is still carried out poorly. The number of hostages is on the increase. These circumstances, and also continuing rumors about Ingushes preparing for a spring offensive, do not contribute to stabilizing the situation in North Ossetia.

[Yu. Shatalin, head of interim administration] I can firmly guarantee, as long as I am responsible for this: There will be no offensive whatsoever, whether in spring or in summer.

Ingush Leader Criticizes Shatalin Claim on Plight of Russians

PM1904091993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 93 p 2

[L. Krutakov report: "President Aushev's Denial"]

[Text] "The problem of the Russian-speaking population in Ingushetia was a discovery for me," Ruslan Aushev stated at a news conference yesterday. I recall that the discovery was made by Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, head of the interim administration in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone. The essence of the "discovery" was the existence of slaves of Slavic nationality who are being forcibly detained in Ingushetia.

"Shatalin should deal with the problems of the return of refugees to Prigorodnyy Rayon and the exchange of hostages, and I will somehow sort out the Ingushetia situation myself," the recently elected president of the Republic of Ingushetia said. That is actually what he said. And, on the gist of the question, he explained that, since the beginning of the era of market relations in Russia it has been impossible to work out who is a slave and who is the master. Aushev named the hypothetical slaves as typical vagrants, and the "slave owners" as hooligan elements in Ingushetia.

This all may indeed be so. In general, there are enough day laborers on the territory of Vologda Oblast. But the subtlety of the Ingush situation lies in the so-called ethnic factor—brother Slav day laborers are finding themselves serving "persons of Caucasian origin." This factor raises an everyday situation to the political level. And we cannot take a single step these days without it being political.

Aushev called Shatalin's statement a well-calculated political step. And the aim was simple—to provoke a wave of anti-Ingush sentiment and introduce a state of emergency in Ingushetia, finally cutting off any chance of the republic's reunification with Chechnya.

Clearly, it is the Ingush people's fate to be a pawn in the North Caucasus political game. Something else is surprising—the touching concern for Ingushetia's Russian-speaking population, while "brother Slavs" living in other hot spots of the former USSR are completely forgotten.

Kalmykia To Curb Political, Press Freedoms

PM2004154993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Irina Gulchenko report: "The Man They Cannot Help Talking About: The Capitalist-President"]

[Text] The personality of Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, first president of the Republic of Kalmykia, continues to arouse genuine interest in the reading public.

It seems that the president has clearly defined for himself a program for the immediate future, and that he is confident that it will be acceptable to the republic population: namely, to elect instead of today's 130 deputies a professional parliament of 25 people, including lawyers and economists; to reduce the number of ministers to five, and to effect a general reduction of the administrative apparatus; to maintain Kalmykia's neutrality; to create a Buddhist republic. By way of confirming the last tenet, it is proposed to offer political refuge in Kalmykia to the 14th Dalai Lama, who was driven out of China, with a view to constructing a "Vatican-style" center. A sober economic calculation on raising living standards in the republic through the efforts of the people themselves obviously moved the president toward the intention for the time being of

banning all parties and movements and closing "virtually all local newspapers—they only hinder reforms."

According to those people who know Ilyumzhinov personally and with whom it has been possible to talk, he is an unusual personality, a talented and interesting man.

Shumeyko Visits St. Petersburg Production Association

PM2104103193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 93

[“Novosti” newscast video report from St. Petersburg by Sergey Dukhavin and Vladimir Zhuravlev]

[Text] [Announcer] Hot on the trail of the [Supreme Soviet] speaker [Khasbulatov], Government First Deputy Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko has visited St. Petersburg.

[Dukhavin] The first item on the program was a visit to the “Kirovskiy Zavod” Production Association. However, before the guest and the city’s mayor accompanying him were allowed to enter the plant, they had to engage in a debate on financial and economic topics with pickets who barred the entrance to the plant. The sides probably did not entirely succeed in convincing each other, and the heated debate was cut short by freezing rain.

At the plant itself, Vladimir Shumeyko was briefed on both the plant’s achievements and its problems. The former include models of new machinery which are either already in production or nearing the production stage. The latter center on the production line itself. Tractor assembly is limited to four days a week and a single shift per day. The plant is also hampered by delays in banking transactions. It seems as if payments arrive via a branch located in the Antarctic.

The general conclusion of the discussions was a laconic one—the faster the reforms are implemented, the more confident the collective will be. This was also the leit-motif of the first vice premier’s other meetings in St. Petersburg today.

Sverdlovsk To Ask Additional Question at Referendum

LD2004115693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 93

[From the “Vesti” newscast]

[Text] Voters in Sverdlovsk Oblast will be asked an extra question at the referendum on 25 April, in addition to the ones endorsed by the Congress of People’s Deputies. The question reads: Do you agree that Sverdlovsk Oblast should have the same powers as republics belonging to the Russian Federation. This was decided at a session of Sverdlovsk Oblast’s inner soviet.

International Affairs

Kravchuk: No Military-Political Integration with CIS

LD2004172993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text]) Ukraine does not intend to sign documents on military- political and diplomatic integration within the framework of the Commonwealth at the future meeting of CIS leaders, President Leonid Kravchuk announced at a closed session of Ukraine's parliament today, according to an INTERFAX report. Ukraine, he noted, has already announced its non-bloc status and does not intend to enter any military-political unions. At the same time, Kravchuk spoke out in favor of the economic integration of CIS countries.

Kravchuk Departs for Turkish President's Funeral

LD2004172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By an UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev April 20 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk left for Ankara to attend the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

Kuchma Delegation Returns From Tour of Persian Gulf States

LD2004165593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] The government delegation of Ukraine headed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma returned to Kiev. It paid an official visit to the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf. Leonid Kuchma met and talked with their leaders. Representatives of business circles, besides, displayed a desire to develop mutually advantageous cooperation in various spheres. Ukraine and the Arab states of the Gulf area agreed to establish diplomatic relations. This was reported by the press service of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Cooperation Agreements Signed With Tajikistan

LD2104022193 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1636 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] The restoration of broken links and also the further development of cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Tajikistan were the problems at the center of attention during two days of talks between the government delegations of the two countries, which ended with the signing of relevant documents on 20 April. In particular, an agreement on trade and economic cooperation was signed.

The sides agreed that the Republic of Tajikistan would resume deliveries of appropriate volumes of raw cotton and silk, cotton fabrics, and other products, which were formerly supplied to Ukraine in significant volumes.

Ukraine, in turn, will deliver metal products, motor vehicle and agricultural technology, sugar, confectionery, and so on.

An interbank agreement, in accordance with which the sides decided to go over to direct settlements, will also have important significance. A number of agreements on customs houses were also signed.

Vasyl Yevtukhov, acting first vice prime minister of Ukraine who headed the Ukrainian delegation, said: In our opinion, the documents that were signed will have great political significance. After all, peace and order on our earth cannot be ensured now without close cooperation between CIS countries. It is clear that these agreements must, above all, assist in quickly and substantially correcting the state of affairs in the economies of the two states.

One does not need to explain what the resumption of deliveries of appropriate volumes of cotton and fabrics from Tajikistan means for Ukraine. We know what a difficult situation light industry enterprises of our country have found themselves in (and some find themselves in now too) because of the lack of raw materials.

Abdurakhmon Mukhtashov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and leader of the Tajik Government delegation, said: Ukraine is a large state, which is a distinctive door into Europe for many countries, including Tajikistan. Our country's economy is very closely linked with the economy of Ukraine. This is why we attach such significance to the documents that were signed. The main thing now is that direct executors and representatives of enterprises and organizations understand their topicality.

'Mysterious' Fuel Containers Found at Odessa Station

PM1504152993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 93 First Edition p 6

[Nina Perstneva report: "Fate of Mysterious Containers Clarified"]

[Text] Yesterday's IZVESTIYA (Issue No. 70) published a report about containers with nuclear fuel allegedly detained by the port of Ilichevsk customs service. This report was first confirmed and then denied outright by the customs officers themselves, which gave rise to a mass of all kinds of rumors....

Thus, V. Klinkov, deputy chief of Ilichevsk customs, claimed that they had not seen either containers with a dangerous cargo or any relevant documents. They had simply received operational information about the possible arrival of a special-category cargo, prescribing that it be treated with enhanced attention. As for Customs Chief V. Parfiryev, he altogether denied the fact of the containers' existence.

It was successfully established on the spot that the sensational containers had indeed arrived at the ferry

terminal, apparently ending up by mistake there instead of the container terminal. Their tracks were lost after that. In any event, customs officers, who had acquired the numbers of the containers that had arrived at the port, wandered all over their territory but failed to discover the dangerous cargo either at the port or anywhere along the railroad sidings.

According to the latest data received from A. Savelyev, chief of Ilichevsk City Section of the Ukrainian Security Service Odessa Oblast Administration, the four cars carrying not nuclear but rocket fuel, or rather one of the latter's components—ammonium perfarit [as transliterated; possible typo for ammonium perchlorate], are at Odessa-Sortirovochnaya railroad station. The shipper—the "Pavoks" Foreign Economic Association—was sending them from Novorossiysk to Bulgaria. Operational services have long had their eyes on this cargo, requiring special supervision for safety's sake, also because information had been received from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev that the fuel was destined for Libya. Under the UN Security Council sanctions, such deliveries to this country are banned.

"As far as I know," A. Savelyev said, "talks are going on at the moment with Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this cargo's fate. For the time being it is under special observation at the station."

National Affairs

Supreme Council Discusses Defense Issues

LD2004200193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] A closed plenary sitting of the Supreme Council of Ukraine took place on 20 April. The issue of the draft military doctrine of our state was examined. Additional work was done on this, taking into account proposals and observations expressed by people's deputies during examination of the draft at the sixth session of the Supreme Council on 28 October last year.

President Leonid Kravchuk delivered a report. Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov delivered a report on the structure, numbers, and program of reduction of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Information was heard from Viktor Antonov, minister of machine-building, the military-industrial complex and conversion, on the defense adequacy and conversion of Ukraine's industry.

Information about the state of talks between the government delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Federation regarding nuclear disarmament was given by Yuriy Kostenko, minister of the environment and leader of the state delegation. Information about the talks between the state delegations of Ukraine and Russia regarding the Black Sea Fleet was delivered by Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council and head of Ukraine's state delegation.

It was decided to continue examining these issues at a plenary sitting on 22 April.

Crimean Parliament Commission Discusses Black Sea Fleet

LD2004191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1712 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—Members of the Crimean Parliament's Commission for Military Affairs met in Sevastopol on Tuesday to call for the prompt fulfillment of the accords on the Black Sea fleet reached between Russia and Ukraine.

They said the knot of problems can be undone by a meeting between the presidents of the two countries at which they should discuss both the fulfillment of the Yalta and Dagomys agreements on the fleet and aspects of the transitional period and joint commandment, sources at the press-centre of the Black Sea fleet told ITAR-TASS by telephone.

Crimean Parliament Appeals to Kravchuk

MK2004135093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report under "Crimea" rubric: "Crimean Supreme Soviet Session Appeals to Ukrainian President. Deputies Request Suspension of Validity of Ukraine's Law 'On Representation in the Republic of Crimea'"]

[Text] A Crimean Supreme Soviet session has discussed a draft decree "On the Ukrainian President's Representation in the Republic of Crimea."

In the opinion of Deputy Sergey Yefimov, the law does not define the representation's functions and does not indicate the limits of the powers of the president's representatives. "Ukraine's law does not say whether the Ukrainian president's representative in Crimea is bound to follow the Republic of Crimea's laws and constitution. Most importantly, the law on the president's representation contradicts Ukraine's law "On the Separation of Powers Between the Organs of State Authority of Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea."

Ivan Timchenko, leader of the Ukrainian president's legal service, who spoke next, observed that "there are no contraventions of legislation in the law on a permanent representative, just as there is no encroachment on the Republic of Crimea's powers," but he did agree that certain of the laws' wordings could be ambiguous.

Fedor Burchak, head of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's legal department, stating that "the president has the right to institute legal posts throughout Ukrainian territory," proposed the creation of a combined group of Ukrainian and Crimean deputies which would combine efforts to

draft a statute "On the Ukrainian President's Representation in the Republic of Crimea."

Deputy Yuriy Meshkov proposed the adoption of a decree which would say: "In connection with the contradictions present, on the one hand, in the Republic of Crimea Constitution and the Ukrainian law 'On the Delimitation of Powers Between Ukraine's Organs of State Authority,' and on the other hand present in the Ukrainian law 'On the Ukrainian President's Representative in the Republic of Crimea,' the validity of the Ukrainian law on the Ukrainian president's representation in the Crimea will be suspended."

After a long debate the Crimean Supreme Soviet decree "On the Ukrainian President's Representation in the Republic of Crimea" was adopted. It says: "...to appeal to the Ukrainian president, proposing that the formation

of the Ukrainian president's representation in the Republic of Crimea not be carried out. To form a combined working group of representatives of the Ukrainian president's administration, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, and the Crimean Supreme Soviet to elaborate a draft law on altering the Ukrainian law 'On the Ukrainian President's Representation in the Republic of Crimea' and a draft statute on the basis and forms of activity of the Ukrainian president's representation in the Republic of Crimea.

The Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet session appealed to the Ukrainian president, requesting that the validity of the said law be suspended until the combined commission has completed its work and the Ukrainian and Crimean Supreme Soviets have adopted the appropriate decision.

Belarus

Foreign Minister Continues Talks in Washington

LD2104062793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0617 GMT 21 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexandr Korolyov]

[Text] Washington April 21 TASS—Foreign Minister of Belarus Petr Kravchenko, who is on an official visit here, continued talks with the U.S. administration officials on Tuesday. In particular, he held a meeting with Toby Gati who coordinates affairs of newly independent countries in the National Security Council.

They had discussions on a balanced approach to the problem of assisting market reforms in Belarus and supplementing military-strategical aid by economic aid which can to a greater degree assist progress of the reforms in the republic. In addition to this, Minsk's approach to the system of collective security within the CIS framework was also discussed.

The same day the Belarusian minister had meetings with influential U.S. Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar who are authors of the law on allocation of 800 million dollars to help dismantle nuclear weapons in the newly independent states.

Kravchenko is expected to have a meeting with U.S. Defence Secretary Les Aspin today.

Britain Conducts Large-Scale Military Inspection for NATO

LD2004221393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] The military inspection by NATO on the territory of Belarus which started today is unprecedented. A group of military experts from Great Britain will inspect not a particular announced site of control but a whole territory of possible large-scale battle exercises on the scale of an army. The Belarusian military face very troublesome and industrious work because the British have applied to inspect a region of Belarus marked along the line Molodechno-Uzda-Slutsk-Beshenkovichi-Ushachi-Bobruysk. We will amplify it for reference purposes—not every European state has such territory [sentence as heard]. The exact reason for such a large-scale inspection is yet unknown.

Polish Defense Minister, Delegation Arrive for Visit

LD2104113693 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1800 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] A military delegation from the Republic of Poland led by Minister of National Defense Janusz Onyszkiewicz arrived in Belarus today on an official visit. According to the Belarusian Ministry of Defense press center, the Polish minister is expected to hold meetings

and conversations at the republic's Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Defense. The itinerary includes a visit to one of the regiments of the Guards' Rogachev Motor Rifle Division and the Minsk Higher Military Engineers' School. It is planned to sign a joint agreement on cooperation in the military sphere between Belarus and Poland at the end of the visit.

Credit Agreement Signed With Italy

LD2004181193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1504 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk April 20 TASS—A Belarusian-Italian inter-governmental credit agreement was signed today by Italian Ambassador to Belarus Gianluigi Bertinetto and head of the Belarusian State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations Vladimir Radkevich.

Under the document, Belarus will receive 100 billions lire.

Moldova

Lalumiere Meets Snegur, Views 14th Army Withdrawal, Romania

LD2004162693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1150 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau April 20 TASS—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has met visiting Secretary of the European Community [title as received] Catherine Lalumiere on Tuesday.

During the meeting they touched upon the problem of the withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army from the Dniester region. Snegur suggested that the European Community work out its position on this issue.

Touching upon relations with Bucharest, Snegur pointed out that leaders of Moldova and Romania come out for the existence of two states. Snegur expressed his support of the reformation policy pursued by Boris Yeltsin and pointed out that if he is defeated in the referendum, "An attempt to restore the Soviet empire" is possible.

Meets Foreign Minister

AU2104090593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1940 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 20/4/1993—During today's meeting with Catherine Lalumiere, the General Secretary of European Council, Nicolae Tiu, the Minister for External Affairs, handed a petition from the Moldovan Government which states the acceptance of Moldova to European Council as a full accredited

member. During the meeting a problem concerning the withdrawal of the 14th Army from the territory of Moldova was discussed. Nicolae Tiu pointed out that the leaders of the self-proclaimed Dniestrian Republic insist on recognition of the special status of the territory and only after that will they agree to consider the question of the withdrawal of the 14th Army. "Separatists will only agree to one acknowledged form of status: This part of Moldova should be declared independent, but this is impossible," declared Tiu at the same time specifying that the presense of the 14th Army on the territory of Moldova is illegal. Seven thousand officers and soldiers are engaged in the peace-keeping forces and soldiers and the 14th Army have approximately the same number, said in addition the chief of the Department of Diplomacy in the course of a briefing organised today. Catherine Lalumiere declared that "for a state to join the European Council there are many other requirements: To become part of the European family, to hold a clear policy which is based on pluralism to respect human rights and the rights of national minorities and to practice good relations with neighbours." In reference to the Gagauzian problem, Catherine Lalumiere stated that "this national minority should be given equal rights with the citizens of Moldova" and there "should exist some kind of Gagauzian administrative autonomy because this state is too small." Reunification between Moldova and Romania will not be the best solution due to the reason that at present this territory is inhabited by many national minorities expressed Lalumiere. It would be better, if Moldova remained just as it is now—multinational, multicultural and multireligious declared the General Secretary of the EC. Referring to withdrawal of the 14th Army, Lalumiere expressed that the foreign Army must not be moved to another country "because even for Russia it is not easy to distribute all her soldiers to their own living spaces after withdrawal." We are very concerned with the development of events in Russia and are looking forward to the results of the referendum and of the new elections," concluded Catherine Lalumiere.

Views Education Program With Education Minister

AU2104085593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0646 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/4/1993—The minister of science and education of the Republic of Moldova, Nicolae Matcas, had an interview with Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, the secretary general of the Council of Europe, informs MOLDOVA PRESS. Mrs. Lalumiere was interested to find out what are the problems currently confronting the Republic of Moldova in the field of education, mentioning ways for Moldova to adhere to the European Cultural Convention that would facilitate its attendance to the session of the Permanent Conference for the Ministries of Education in Europe. The Republic of Moldova would be granted the possibilities to carry out scientific research in the pedagogical and psychological fields, cooperate in secondary and higher education, and integrate in various European projects and programmes.

Snegur, Aides Depart for Turkey To Attend Ozal's Funeral

AU2104091793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1940 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 20/4/1993—Mircea Snegur President of Moldova, left today for Ankara in order to participate at the funeral of the President of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, communicated the Press Service of the President. President Snegur is accompanied by the deputy of Parliament of Moldova, Constantin Tausanu, and Valeriu Verstiuc, the State Prime Vice Minister. In the airport in Chisinau the Head of State was greeted by Petru Lucinschi, the President of Parliament, Nicolae Tau, the Minister of External Affairs, Gheorghe Gusac, the State Minister, Vasile Calmoi, the Minister of National Security, Pavel Creanga, the Minister of Defence, Andrei Cheptine, the Minister of External Economic Relations and Ender Arat, the general consul of Turkey in the Republic of Moldova.

Armenia

Yerevan Says Turkish Troops Holding 'Provocative' Exercises

NC2004181493 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] In the wake of the first signs of success achieved by Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's armed forces in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon, a concentration of Turkish troops and military hardware and intensified military reconnaissance activities and exercises have been observed on the Armenian-Turkish border.

According to reliable sources, defensive installations are being erected in the border area. Turkish troops engaged in exercises are being reinforced, and their number has already increased tenfold. They are receiving additional military hardware and helicopters.

The Turkish troop activities are openly provocative. They are holding exercises to display their military hardware and are organizing flights by military helicopters.

Today, on 10 April [date as heard], a battalion of 100 soldiers held such an offensive-type exercise. They moved toward our border in a show of force.

It also has been noted that the transfer of Turkish military hardware and military specialists to Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic is continuing.

President, Foreign Minister Leave for Ozal's Funeral

NC2004200093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] An Armenian delegation headed by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan left for Ankara today to attend the funeral for Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

The delegation includes Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan and First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan.

President, Officials Attend Funeral for Helicopter Crew

NC2004202993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] The last farewell was given to the crew of the Mi-8 helicopter shot down by Azerbaijanis in Mardakertskiy Rayon on 16 April, to Major Shahen Megryan, commander of the special detachment attached to the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] self-defense forces, and to other members of the detachment who fell during an unequal clash with Azerbaijani bandits on the same day.

The remains of the martyrs were brought to the Officers' Club in Yerevan. Thousands of representatives of the

Armenian and NKR people came to pay their last respects. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Babken Ararktsyan, Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan, acting Defense Minister Vazgen Manukyan, and parliamentarians also attended the ceremony.

The heroes were buried at Yerevan's Yerablur Pantheon. Deputy Defense Minister Major General Sergey Martirosyan; Prelate of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] His Holiness Barkev; writer Zori Balayan; Levon Melik-Shakhnazaryan, chairman of the NKR Supreme Soviet's Foreign Relations Commission; Armenian People's Deputy Gagik Ovanesyan; and others spoke at the burial ceremony there. They said the people will keep the memory of the martyrs alive forever because the fatherland's soldiers do not die, but become immortal.

Arutyunyan Continues Latin American Tour, Meets Argentine Leader

NC2104105793 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] An Armenian delegation headed by Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan is continuing its working visit to a number of Latin American countries. Arutyunyan held a meeting with Argentine President Carlos Saul Menem. During the warm and friendly meeting they discussed matters pertaining to political, economic, and cultural relations between Armenia and Argentina (?within the framework) of the protocol signed in June 1992 between the two countries on the creation of political mechanisms.

The Armenian vice president and the Argentine president exchanged frank views on important regional issues, including the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh problem. The two sides stressed that all contentious issues should be solved on the basis of the UN Charter principles of peaceful resolution of conflicts, nonintervention in each other's affairs, and national self-determination.

Arutyunyan delivered a speech entitled: The CIS: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow at the Argentine International Relations Council on 15 April. After his address he was made an honorary member of this institution.

The Armenian vice president also met Argentine Foreign Minister Guido di Tella, and the delegation held a working meeting with Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo. The delegation also met with various political, cultural, and patriotic societies of the Argentine Armenian community and with the local committee of the Pan-Armenian Armenia Fund.

The vice president visited Armenian educational establishments in Buenos Aires and an Argentinian school named after Armenia.

Georgia

Ioselani Denies Rumors of 'Clashes' Within Army

LD2004213593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Jaba Ioselani, deputy chairman of the State Security and Defense Council of the republic, has refuted information about alleged clashes between the armed units of Mkhedrioni and Kitovani's National Guard in the Ochamchira area. He called these rumors a lie if not a provocation.

Reports of National Guard Units Withdrawing From Abkhazia Denied

LD2104102193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] Rumors have been spread of late that Georgian National Guard units have allegedly left Abkhazia and are not participating in combat actions. The press center of the Georgian Armed Forces is authorized to declare that these rumors are groundless. Georgian National Guard units are guarding the Sukhumi-Ochamchira and Tirvi-Kamishi highways. They are in combat positions in the regions of the villages of Lagra and Akhali Kindgha and also on the Gumista River. Other combat duties are also carried out by the Defense Ministry's 23d Mechanized Brigade. Lies about the Georgian National Guard are being spread by parties that are interested in destabilizing the situation.

Abkhazia Says Georgian Units Massing for Assault

LD2004132093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1226 GMT 20 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi April 20 TASS—According to the information of the Abkhazian Defense Ministry, the Georgian troops command is grouping a considerable amount of units in Ochamchira, getting ready for an offensive, sources at the Sochi-based Abkhazian refugees' headquarters told ITAR-TASS, referring to the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet press-service.

According to the source, Abkhazian military units destroyed an enemy tank in fire exchange at the Gumista front on Monday. In the Ochamchira direction, Georgian units put under howitzer fire the populated localities of Reka, Baslakh and Katsikhabla.

Shevardnadze, Polish Delegation Discuss Cooperation

LD2004194893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, today received a delegation

of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by Deputy Minister Andrzej Ananicz. The delegation arrived in Georgia in connection with the signing of the agreement between Poland and Georgia on friendship and cooperation in all spheres.

Expressing satisfaction at the arrival of the Polish delegation, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the two countries are linked by deep roots of friendly, cultural, and businesslike relations. The comprehensive agreement signed in Tbilisi gives a new impetus to these relations. He emphasized that a real basis for multilateral cooperation between Poland and Georgia has been established. It is essential to carry out purposeful work on its actual [words indistinct]. The head of state acquainted the visitors with the socio-political processes taking place in Georgia, and the results and documents reached at the meetings during his visit to Ukraine.

Andrzej Ananicz expressed gratitude for the cordial reception which his delegation has received in Georgia [words indistinct] greetings to Shevardnadze on behalf of the president of Poland and the foreign minister. He said that the processes taking place in Georgia arouse great interest in Poland. He emphasized that the Polish government entirely supports the integrity of the Georgian territory and the inviolability of its borders.

Having stated that the developments in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict are being closely watched in Poland, the head of the delegation said that the Polish government is ready, if necessary, to take part in the [words indistinct]. In Andrzej Ananicz's opinion, international organizations should take a more active part in the peaceful solution of the Abkhazian conflict and of the situation in the Tskhinvali region.

The sides stated that they are ready to fully utilize the contacts between the two countries to exchange delegations on different levels and discuss the specific forms of cooperation between Poland and Georgia.

Other participants in the meeting were Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua; Foreign Minister Alexandre Chikvaidze; and Culture Minister David Magradze.

Shevardnadze Speaks Out Against 'Street Actions'

LD2004173993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 20 Apr 93

[Text] In his traditional radio interview yesterday, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze spoke about attempts by certain circles to create new waves of destabilization such as those seen these days in the capital and which exist in some other parts of the republic.

Mr. Shevardnadze said: I would like to welcome the initiative by our television to give part of its broadcasting time to people fighting on the Abkhazian front and to convey to the public their view on the increased activity of certain circles. What they are saying cannot be taken without emotion. In general, I would like to say

that television has been doing its business better recently. Look what Moscow television programs concentrate on. There is no time for flirting now. What needs to be said must be said. It is good that our television has taken a step in this direction.

Street actions were necessary at a certain point in time in the past. They have completed their mission. The time will probably come when the people who participated in them, but were later unable to find their place within power structures, will be appropriately rewarded. They have done a lot by street actions. However, this is definitely not the right way today. Rallies can be held, but they must be held at specially designated places where the state will protect the participants. I think it is inadmissible to hold rallies in central locations where something untoward may happen. I am categorically against this. I may personally go to a rally which is held at a designated place. Nevertheless, I think that rallies today would be a step back rather than forward. Moreover, we do not have either the time or the means to hold them, the head of state said.

Scientists Fear 'Ecological Catastrophe' at Esheri Lab

AU2104110793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in
Georgian 0700 GMT 21 Apr 93

[Text] A group of scientists, geologists, and seismologists have supported the initiative to organize international expertise at the Russian Army laboratory in Esheri [Sukhumi Rayon]. They have submitted this proposal in an appeal to the heads of the Georgian and Russian Governments, the Black Sea basin countries, Caucasian republics, and international organizations and social movements. The appeal states in particular:

The laboratory in Esheri has been a top secret installation since its creation. Particular attention has been given by the Russian military and the mass media to this in connection with the Abkhaz conflict since the laboratory appeared in the center of events. It has caused increased anxiety and fear among the public. Yet, what kind of installation is it? What is its function? What experiments and research are being conducted there? Could it be a laboratory for [carrying out] artificial earthquakes?

The authors of the appeal express fear because information has recently been released that research into the creation of geotectonic weapons that cause powerful earthquakes by means of underground explosions aimed at [word indistinct] tectonic chasms and (?fissures) is being conducted at the Esheri laboratory. This military laboratory is situated in direct proximity to the seismic (?faults) of the main Caucasian mountain range. The scientists' fear is compounded by the fact that problems connected with the possibility of causing earthquakes by underground explosions are being discussed in contemporary scientific literature. Certain political circles are using the top-secret [word indistinct] laboratory for their own aims. It is the duty of scientists to give the population an comprehensive and scientifically substantiated answer to this question. A solution to the laboratory problem is urgent as Esheri is situated in the war zone. If this laboratory is indeed being used for the creation of geotectonic weapons, the scientists believe that the danger exists of an ecological catastrophe in the event of its destruction as a result of military action. This will affect all the countries in the Black Sea basin; in particular, it is possible that the nuclear power station in Armenia and the Enguri River [word indistinct] dam will be destroyed.